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Old Jim Crow in Uniform

How Fares the Negro in National Defense?

WALTER WILSON

"MISS WILEY COLLEGE"
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FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Richard B. Moore

BOOKS OF 1938

Brief Reviews by

Arthur B. Spingarn

OUR HOUSE

A Story by

Elisabeth Thomas

Lily-White Democracy

An Editorial

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COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS

The **Virginia State College** Alumni Association has completed its donation of $500 for a memorial to "Old Virginia Hall". The monument is under construction by students of the brick masonry department.

David W. Cannon, ass't professor of psychology since 1932, died December 14, 1938, at his Cranford, N. J., home.

One of the four Atlantans to exhibit art works at the New York World's Fair will be Hale Woodruff, of the fine arts faculty of **Atlanta University.** Selection was made at a preview exhibition of contemporary American art in Richmond, Va. Woodruff's paintings have been hung at many notable exhibits from New York to Texas.

Attending the December 27-31 meeting in Richmond, Va., of the American Association for the Advancement of Science were Milton Nabrit, biology professor at Atlanta U, and Harold E. Finley, biology professor at **Morehouse College**.

Pres.. William A. Fountain, Jr., of **Morris Brown College,** has announced a $50,000 Rosenwald grant as a nucleus for an endowment fund to be matched dollar for dollar by members of the A.M.E. Church and supporters of the institution, which has an enrollment of 572, including 164 freshmen.

Returning from graduate study at Ohio State University is C. L. Hill, Ph.D.; Miss M. L. McAfee, B.L.S., Hampon Institute.

New to faculty is Miss Maxine E. Daly, A.B. Hunter College, A.M. Columbia University (English). Studying on leave of absence are V. C. Clinch at Un. of Kansas, C. L. E. Monroe at Un. of Pennsylvania, Mrs. V. J. Hill, Un. of Indiana.

The Dep't of Dental Hygiene of **Meharry Medical College** has been registered by the N. Y. Board of Dental

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Examiners following the visit of Dr. Minor J. Terry, secretary of the Board. Graduates of the Dep't may now sit for examinations in the State of New York. Dr. D. H. Turpin is dean of the School of Dentistry and Miss E. M. Madison is director of the Dep't of Dental Hygiene.

Associate biology professor Kenneth B. M. Crooks of **Hampton Institute** was the only Negro contributor to the December issue of The Virginia Journal of Education, official organ of the Virginia Education Association.

The Thirkield Lectures on Preaching, Social Service and Inter-racial Goodwill at **Gammon Theological Seminary,** will be delivered February 14-17, by Dr. W. A. Smart, prof. of Biblical Theology at Emory University.

An anniversary program marking the completion of the twenty-fifth year of Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill's presidency of **Cheyney State Teachers College** was held in Pennsylvania Hall, the Richard Humphreys Foundation of Philadelphia, on Dec. 17. Charlotte Wallace Murray, contralto, of New York City, sang.

Born a slave in Charlotte Co., Va., Jacob Johnson has just completed 60 years of service as a beloved worker on the **West Virginia State College** farm and campus. Now eighty-seven years young, Mr. Johnson is known as "Pasha" to thousands of West Virginia State alumni.

Winners of first and second prizes at the Twelfth Annual Prize Declamatory Contest held by the Sophomore Preparatory Class at **Storer College** were Georgiana Triplett, Charleston, W. Va., and Oscar Reeler, Bolivar, W. Va. Martha Martin, Sutton, W. Va.

A Parent Education Institute was held at Storer, Nov. 18, sponsored by the State of W. Virginia, the first of its kind to be held in the Eastern Panhandle of the State.

Prof. Briscoe has recently had an article accepted by the Microscopic society of America. He will also con-

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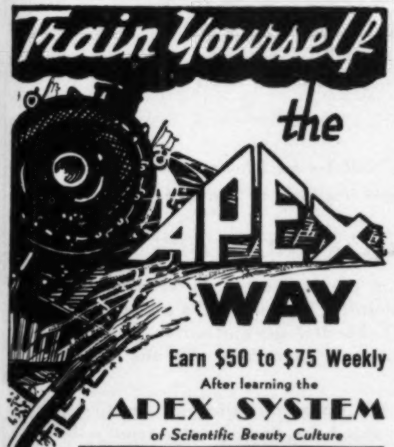

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tribute a section to a book to be published by the New York Biological Society.

Prof. Leroy D. Johnson has been elected to membership of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

First and second prize winners at the Eighteenth Melvin N. Frazier Declamatory Prize Contest on Dec. 3, were, respectively, Elsie Saunders, Dyersburg, Tenn., and Dorothy Moats, Bolivar, W. Va. John Robert Wilson, Marlinton, W. Va., won honorable mention.

A 2-day Y. W. C. A. Leadership Conference was held at **Prairie View College** recently. Present were 100 delegates representing Wiley, Samuel Huston and Tillotson colleges.

Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett, distinguished composer and head of the **Bennett College** Music Department, has contributed a discussion on "The Development of Negro Music in Higher Forms" to the New International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, released on Dec. 10, by Dodd, Mead & Co.

Pres. David D. Jones attended the Committee on Education of the Uniting Conference of the Methodist Church at Chicago's La Salle Hotel in December.

Shaw University received a surprise Christmas gift of $103.00 from the Raleigh-Estey Hall Club under direction of Mrs. Julia A. Williams on Dec. 20.

The latest issue of the **West Virginia State College** Bulletin consists of "An Adventure in Experimental Co-operative Teaching" by Harry W. Greene, director of Teacher Education and Prof. of Education of the college. This is Series 25, No. 6.

A New Student-Faculty Collegiate Advisory Council has been formed at **Howard University** to provide a forum where problems affecting the conditions under which students live and learn at the institution may be threshed out cooperatively.

Miss Esther Reed, a senior, and Miss Mary A. Thompson, freshman, at **Florida A. & M. College,** recently won first prizes in essay contests sponsored respectively by the National Tuberculosis Association and the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

Prof. Joseph L. Williams (chemistry and biology) at **Lincoln University** (Penna.) was one of the speakers before the 33rd annual meeting of the Entomological Society of America in affiliation with the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Richmond, Va. He was the only Negro accorded a place on the program.

In his annual report J. W. Studebaker, U. S. commissioner of education, Office of Education, Interior Department, reports an increase in the number of states that are appropriating funds to pay tuition and traveling expenses of colored students to do graduate work outside their states. This is due largely to fear of legal action on the part of the **N. A. A. C. P.** and organized Negro teachers.

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

The second of two articles under the heading "Old Jim Crow in Uniform" by Walter Wilson will be a feature of the March issue. It will deal with the humiliating treatment of the Negro soldiers in the training camps of America and on the battlefields in France.

•

George Padmore will have a piece on the conflict of Italy and France over Tunis.

•

There will be a short poem "The Unknown Soldier" by Herbert Eli Dickson; and a new story, with the usual poems, book reviews, pictures and short features.

•

In an early issue will be an illustrated article on the contributions of Negro scientists to America.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Richard B. Moore is the founder of the Frederick Douglass Historical and Cultural League. He is a vice president of the International Labor Defense and will be remembered for his nationwide tours in connection with the Scottsboro case.

The article "Old Jim Crow in Uniform," the first part of which appears in this issue, is a chapter from a forthcoming book on the common soldier by Walter Wilson.

Arthur B. Spingarn is the chairman of the national legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P. whose hobby is the collection of books by Negro authors.

Elisabeth Thomas lives in Plainfield, N. J.

Sterling Brown, member of the faculty at Howard University, is one of the best known Negro poets, especially for his volume, "Southern Road." The poem in this issue is from a new book soon to be published.

THE COVER

Miss Joycelyn Cain, a junior at Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, was unanimously selected as "Miss Wiley" to represent the institution at the State Fair as well as at Homecoming and other festivals for 1938 and 1939. She is a graduate of the Moore high school, Waco, Texas, an honor student and vice president of the campus Y.W.C.A.

Frederick Douglass

By Richard B. Moore

February is the birth month of Frederick Douglass—the one hundred and twenty-second anniversary. A fitting tribute to the great Leader, Abolitionist and Liberator is paid here by a deep student of the life of Douglass

As the years progress, the stalwart figure of Frederick Douglass looms larger in the view of the past and the consciousness of the present. Despite the studied efforts of those in power who designedly deny to the Negro any worthy, positive, and powerful role in the past, the better to hold him in weakness and subjection in the present, the name of Douglass is increasingly heard upon the lips of the people.

Like the dreaded ghost of Banquo which appeared anon to disturb the orgies and the dreams of the murderers and plunderers, the figure of Frederick Douglass emerges out of the obscurity in which it has been craftily but vainly enshrouded. His truly massive proportions are being evermore clearly discerned. The teachings of the great Negro Abolitionist are being rediscovered and voiced anew; their unusual depth and breadth and their uncommon timelessness and timeliness are more clearly recognized.

The grand example of this fearless fighter for freedom is more highly prized for its invaluable inspiration and more boldly held forth for widespread emulation. The noble and heroic mold of the man, the effective and progressive character of his leadership, and the wisdom, scope, and power of his statesmanship are more surely and justly evaluated.

Such growing appreciation is clearly manifest in the fitting commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of his escape from the prison-house of chattel slavery by the Eastern Regional Conference of the National Negro Congress. This Conference assembled in the spirit of his great tradition in Baltimore, Md. last October, in the very city from which he made his daring and astute break for freedom on the morning of September 3, 1838. The speech of Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, delivered on that occasion, contained these noteworthy and significant words:

"I am sure it is remembered today with pride by many citizens of this State, both Negro and white, that this is the Commonwealth which gave to the world the great orator, statesman, and courageous Negro leader—Frederick Douglass. His life, perhaps more than that of any other single individual, has been the example which has challenged Negroes to press forward and achieve what at first seemed to be impossible. The principles for which he fought are the same as those for which you are struggling today—freedom, justice, and opportunity."

Another notable instance of this deepening realization, not only of the past historic achievement, but also of the present progressive significance of this giant Negro figure—this titan of the great struggle that saved the Negro and the nation from the blighting scourge of chattel slavery, is the organization of the Frederick Douglass Historical and Cultural League. Founded in New York City at the Harlem Art Center, "in appropriate observance of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Escape from Slavery of Frederick Douglass," the League is sponsored by a number of representative persons, white as well as Negro, who are rendering significant service in many fields of activity. Its principal aims and objects are: To perpetuate the memory and to popularize the life, teachings, and achievements of Frederick Douglass. To promote the publication and wide distribution of the "Life and Works of Frederick Douglass" and of similar vital material.

Likewise expressive of this growing sentiment are the many programs which portray the role of Douglass in connection with the approaching Negro History Week, February 5-12, Lincoln's Birthday and Douglass's Birthday on a national scale, conducted by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and many organizations and associated groups too numerous to mention.

As we approach, then, the one hundred and twenty-second anniversary of the birth of Frederick Douglass, it is both fitting and salutary to review the outstanding events of his life, struggle and achievement. It is necessary to understand and to apply the vital lessons of his great role in that momentous crisis of our history when the life, freedom, and advancement of four million and a half Negro slaves hung desperately in the balance, bound up inseparably with the life, liberty, and progress of all the people and, indeed, with the very existence of the nation and the democratic republic itself. This is all the more imperative, now when we are in the throes of another, still graver, world-shaking crisis in which our freedom, security, existence, and destiny are at stake.

Among Greatest Americans

Frederick Douglass occupies an unique place in history, though this is not quite fully or adequately recognized because of the powerful prejudice which still prevails in our land and beclouds the minds of most of us. Pre-eminent among the many great leaders produced by the Negro people in our country, Douglass also stands in the front rank of the few greatest Americans and among the truly great men of the world. This is the inescapable conclusion of any adequate study of the facts of his life and period and of a candid, unbiased estimate of his relation to the men and events of his age.

Such a study and analysis reveals that Douglass led *the most sustained, consistent, and effective struggle,* for the emancipation of the slaves and for the enfranchisement, elevation, and equality of the Negro people. And that struggle was of world-historic import. For it broke the fetters which not only doomed the Negro people to brutal bondage, but which also degraded all labor, nullified democracy, destroyed the peace and arrested the development of all the people of America, even as they hindered the progress of the entire world.

Yet Douglass was born a slave, denied the right to his own being, deprived of the right to education and every other human right necessary for development and achievement. Frederick Douglass began life as a chattel under a system of bondage, sanctioned by law and enforced by government, arms, and terror, which doomed him only to toil, degradation, imbrutement, and cruel subjection to the will of a master who was invested with the right of ownership and complete control over his chattel. The weight of this slave condition, the tremendous handicap which it imposed, and yet the basic consciousness, strength, and representative character that Douglass derived precisely from this identity with the slave class, must first be realized, in order to form a just estimate of the magnitude of his achievement and to grasp the true significance of his life and role.

Harriet Beecher Stowe pointed to this, in comparing him with Henry Wilson and Abraham Lincoln, when she wrote in *Men of Our Times*:

"Frederick Douglass had as far to climb to get to the spot where the poorest free white boy is born, as that boy has to climb to be president of the nation . . ."

Before he was eight years old Douglass was awakened to the cruelties and horrors of slavery by the brutal and inhuman scenes which he witnessed. Thus early was he brought to question: "Why am I a slave? Why are some people slaves and others masters?" The mystery was soon solved when Douglass learned that slaves had been stolen from Africa and that slaves who escaped to the North became free. He was now "filled with a burning hatred of slavery;" his resolve to be free was greatly strengthened. In *My Bondage and My Freedom,* he later wrote of this enlightenment in these pointed words:

> "It was not *color* but *crime,* not *God,* but *man;* that afforded the explanation of the existence of slavery; nor was I long in finding out another important truth, namely: what man can make, man can unmake. The appalling darkness faded away and I was master of the subject."

He Learns to Read

Fortunately Douglass was soon sent to Baltimore. Hearing his new mistress read the Bible aloud, Douglass asked her to teach him to read. Pleased with his apt progress, she soon told her husband who loudly admonished her that it was unlawful and unsafe to teach a slave to read or write. "Very well", thought Douglass "Knowledge unfits a child to be a slave . . . from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."

Douglass now determined to learn to read at all costs, despite the furious opposition of his mistress. Making friends with some of the poor white boys in the neighborhood, he would stealthily secure lessons from them, paying with biscuits or pennies. With fifty cents earned by shining shoes, he bought a copy of the *Columbian Orator* and diligently studied the inspiring speeches of Sheridan, Pitt, and Fox. In a similar manner, he learned to write.

At the age of sixteen, Douglass was sent back to the Eastern shore where he got a different kind of education when his new master sent him to a "slave-breaker." Douglass thus described his frightful experience during his first six months in the slave-school of Covey.

"My natural elasticity was crushed; my intellect languished; the disposition to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died out; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me, and behold a man transformed to a brute!"

But Douglass could not be entirely crushed. At length he determined to resist Covey and successfully fought him for two hours. Covey then gave up the attempt and never laid hands on him again. It is imperative to quote his own account of the significance of this daring deed and its liberating result:

"This battle with Mr. Covey . . . was the turning-point in my 'life as a slave.' . . . It was a resurrection from the dark and pestiferous tomb of slavery, to the heaven of comparative freedom. I was no longer a servile coward, trembling under the frown of a brother worm of the dust, but my long-cowed spirit was aroused to an attitude of independence. I had reached the point at which I was *not afraid to die.* This spirit made me a freeman in *fact,* though I still remained a slave in *form.*"

Several months later, Douglass planned to escape with a number of his fellow slaves, but the plot was betrayed and he was imprisoned along with several suspects. But no evidence was discovered, due to his adroitness, and he was released and sent back to Baltimore, since his master feared to lose his property and knew that Douglass would be shot by other slave-holders who regarded him as a "dangerous" character who would "incite" their slaves. Here Douglass worked in a shipyard, stealthily renewed his studies, and matured the daring and clever plan by which he escaped to the North. Arriving safely in New York, Sept. 4, 1838, Douglass was sheltered by David Ruggles, a Negro officer of the Underground Railroad. He was soon joined by his intended wife, Anna Murray, whom he married. On they went to New Bedford where he took the name of Douglass and began his new life as a freeman.

Begins Abolitionist Work

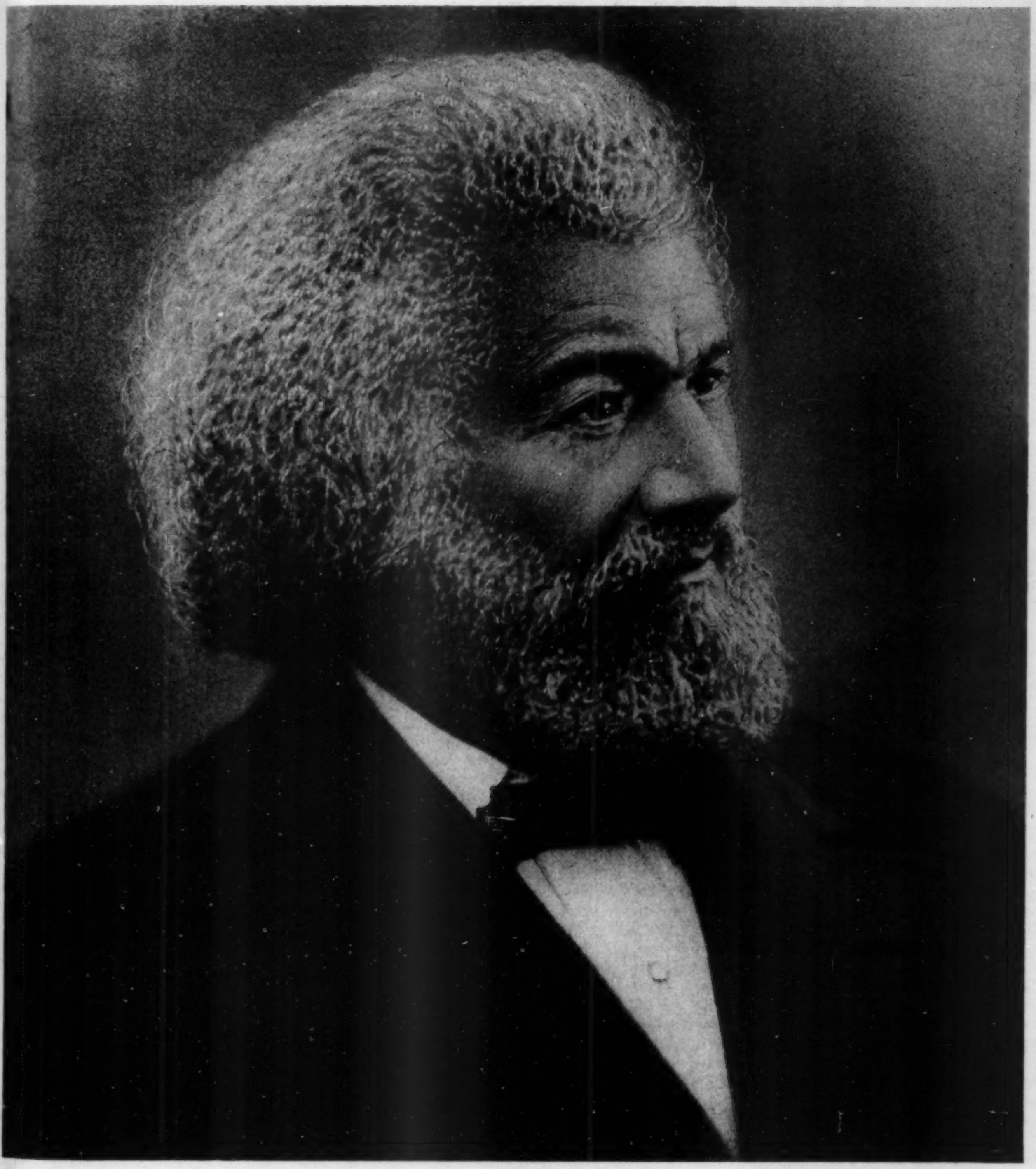
In August 1841, Douglass began his great work as an Abolitionist speaker. He attended the Anti-Slavery Convention in New Bedford, where he lived, and went on with his wife to the Convention held immediately after at Nantucket. Urged to take the platform by Wm. C. Coffin, a white Abolitionist who had heard him speak in a colored Sunday school in New Bedford, Douglass consented with many misgivings and much embarrassment at first. But his speech electrified the Convention. Parker Pillsbury described its powerful effect: "The crowded congregation had been wrought up almost to enchantment, as he turned over the terrible Apocalypse of his experiences in slavery." Garrison was moved to "an effort of unequalled power," and wrote himself "I think I never hated slavery so intensely as at that moment." The entire anti-slavery movement was profoundly affected and stimulated to new life and vigor by this emergence of Frederick Douglass. One of the foremost anti-slavery leaders in Congress, Henry Wilson, has summarized the significance of this event in the *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*:

"Anti-slavery measures had lost much of their zest and potency; meetings became less numerously attended and, consequently, less frequent; organizations, losing their interest and effectiveness began to die out. Something was necessary to revive and re-animate the drooping spirits and the languid movements of the cause and its friends. It was then, at this opportune moment . . . the young fugitive appeared upon the stage. He seemed like a messenger from the dark land of slavery itself; as if in his person his race had found a fitting advocate; as if through his lips their long pent-up wrongs and wishes had found a voice. No wonder that Nantucket meeting was greatly moved."

Soon Douglass became one of the most eloquent and effective leaders in the anti-slavery struggle. He spoke throughout the North and West arousing the people to indignation and action against slavery.

Often he bravely faced pro-slavery mobs and narrowly escaped being lynched several times. Outstanding among his first achievements was his powerful part in the fight to secure the right of Negroes to vote in Rhode Island. Douglass labored incessantly in the great campaign to free George Latimer, a fugitive slave arrested in Boston on a framed-up charge of theft. Numerous monster protest meetings were held, resolutions adopted, and petitions signed by over 65,000 persons were sent by a powerful delegation to the state legislature. Latimer was freed; personal liberty laws were enacted to protect fugitive slaves in Massachusetts; this precedent was soon followed by several other Northern and Western states. Leading the fight against Jim-Crow practices, Douglass physically resisted ejection from a car, which caused the Eastern Railroad to prevent trains from stopping at Lynn, Mass. where he lived. Public pressure upon the com-

(*Continued on page* 50)



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

1817-1895

"His truly massive proportions are being evermore clearly discerned"

Old Jim Crow in Uniform

By Walter Wilson

EVERY tenth man in America's World War armies was a Negro; 400,000 out of 4,000,000 were of this race. Since these black citizen-soldiers, due to their submerged economic and political status, suffered many indignities and hardships over and above those met by rank and file soldiers of the white race, we have reserved this chapter to tell their story, which is an account of how Uncle Sam's pariahs fared in the great war to save Democracy.

If the record of the Negro soldier in defending this Republic is taken into account, his ill-treatment in 1917–18 seems, to say the least, rank ingratitude. For the Negro has been a good and loyal soldier in every war, great or small, in which the United States has ever engaged. In the Revolution there was an average of 34 Negroes to each regiment. The first martyr in the cause of Independence was a Negro, Crispus Attucks, who was killed in the Boston Massacre. Another Negro, Peter Salem, fired the shot which killed the arrogant Major Pitcairn during the Red Coat assault on Bunker Hill. Commodore Perry praised the Negroes who fought under him at the Battle of Lake Erie during the War of 1812. Over 500 Negroes were with Old Hickory at the famous Battle of New Orleans. Over 200,000 Negro soldiers distinguished themselves in the Union armies during the Civil War. Some fought in the Confederacy, mostly as labor battalions. According to some military authorities, notably Charles Francis Adams, the use of the Negro soldiers by the North tipped the scales in favor of the Union.

But in spite of this loyalty, America had not done very well by its black children. So when all the talk was in progress in 1917 about fighting for the rights of minority peoples in Europe some thought should have been given to the position of a minority people in the United States. Negro civilians could have used a little more of the democracy this country was out to save.

They could not serve on juries in many states; they were segregated in the large cities all over the land, living in the slum sections; they could not vote or hold office in certain sections of the country—in 1918, had there been proportional representation, Negroes would have had 58 Congressmen; actually they had none—; Negroes were jim-crowed on transportation lines, even on railroads operated by the federal government during the war; they were paid less for equal or harder work than were whites; they were often held in peonage and were lynched when they protested their lot.

At the present time there is much talk in the air of national defense, of enlarging the air corps, of building up the navy, and of strengthening the other defenses. In this hysteria of patriotism the fact that Negro citizens are not permitted to enlist in all branches of the armed services is ignored. There are two regiments of infantry and one of calvary open to Negroes and in the navy Negro mess attendants are enrolled. All other branches are closed to dark Americans. This seems an appropriate time to review the treatment of the Negro in the army

Lynchings During War

In 1917 either the rope or the faggot claimed the lives of 45 Negroes. In addition there occurred mass lynchings, called "race riots," in East St. Louis and in other places. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People estimates that 175 were slain in the St. Louis "riots" alone. The bodies of the dead, according to an eyewitness, "were thrown into a morgue like so many dead hogs." In 1918 at least 60 Negroes were lynched and in 1919, the year after democracy was saved, 76 were murdered by this method.

During the war period southern employers often revived a kind of forced labor known as peonage. When, because of the boom of war industries in the North, agents went into the rural south to recruit Negroes for their plants, mines and mills, the southern employers tried by every means in their power to stop the migration, arresting, terrorizing and even lynching those who tried to escape to the North. The migration could not be stopped, however, and several hundred thousand did go North during the war period. The attitude taken by even the most respectable southerners on this matter can be best gathered from a typical editorial from a distinguished southern newspaper, the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph,* writen in November, 1918:

> "Police officers, county or city, all over the State, all over the South, should be bending every effort to apprehend and jail the labor agents now operating everywhere about us to take the best of our Negroes North to fill the rapidly widening labor breach there. . . . Our whole industrial, commercial and agricultural structure has been built on a black foundation. It is the only labor we have; it is the best we possibly could have—if we lose it, we go bankrupt!"

And when the infamous "work or fight" orders were issued by the federal government in connection with the draft act, southern employers—and others outside the South—had another weapon to use in forcing Negroes to take any sort of work offered, regardless of wages or conditions. Monroe N. Work, director of research at Tuskegee Institute, says that "advantage was taken of the War Department's work or fight ruling" in the South "to reduce many Negroes to a state of virtual peonage."

The educational disadvantages suffered by Negroes in the South for many long years were exposed by the draft process. Tens of thousands of Negro draftees were illiterate. Many, if not most, were without rudimentary education through no fault of their own but only because of lack of opportunity. In some of the colored organizations it was not unusual to find seventy-five per cent of the soldiers unable to read or sign their names. Once when an order was given to a company for all men who could not read or write to step forward, almost every man stepped out. In a class of seventeen men, four had never heard of Abraham Lincoln, seven of Booker T. Washington and none of Frederick Douglass. Many Negro soldiers had never heard of Germany, Serbia, France, Russia; or of the Czar or Kaiser. Hundreds did not know the capital city of their states.

Discrimination Stunning

Knowing of such conditions, race-conscious Negroes expected to find discrimination in our own World War army, but even they were hardly prepared for all that they found.

"If a person is of African descent, tear off this corner" was a sentence at the bottom of over 10,000,000 registration blanks sent to those who registered for the draft. This wasn't so much in itself, but it was certainly a grim portent. Why did the War Department

Acme

General Pershing Reviewing a Remnant of the Tenth Cavalry at Fort Myer, Va., in 1932

wish to know which of this great democracy's children were black? Wasn't it enough to know a man's age, the number of his dependents, his occupation, his physical condition, his intelligence?

Negroes were not allowed on the registration and draft boards—the half dozen or so exceptions scattered throughout the nation only serve to emphasize the truth of this observation. On November 22, 1933, the former "Special Assistant to the Secretary of War," Emmett J. Scott, wrote the author: "I beg to say that some colored men served on Draft Boards in the more favored portions of the United States, as, for instance, here in Washington, also in Chicago, New York, and some other places, but I have no records of any colored men serving on Draft Boards in any portions of the South." The fact that Dr. Scott could name the few members of the race who served on draft boards is a serious criticism. Yet Newton D. Baker said registering for the draft was just like going to vote.

One of Provost Marshal General Crowder's draft reports shows that of 1,078,331 colored men who had registered up to that time, 51.65 per cent were put in Class 1; while of 9,562,513 white men only 32.53 per cent were put in Class 1. Of these numbers, 31.74 per cent of the Negroes and only 26.84 per cent of the whites were impressed into military service. Was better health the reason? The higher rates charged colored people by many insurance companies is proof enough that the reverse is true.

Charles H. Williams, who made an investigation of ill-treatment of Negro soldiers, shows how the draft worked in a specific community. In Fulton County (Atlanta) Georgia out of 815 white men called by a local board in one period, 526 were exempted—44 per cent on physical grounds. But out of 202 Negroes examined by the same board only six were exempted on all grounds! In some parts of the South, Mr. Williams found, colored men employed by planters were exempted if the planters put in requests for exemption. But on the other hand, men with families were often arbitrarily drafted, even though they were clearly justified because of large families in claiming exemption, *if* they were independent farmers and not sharecroppers.

"All told," says Mr. Williams, "it would appear that many Negroes who had sufficient claims for exemption were drafted and sent away to camp."

Mrs. Addie Hunton and Miss Katherine Johnson in their book on the work of white morale organizations (Y.M.C.A., Red Cross, Salvation Army and others) among Negro troops tell the story of how a white Texas planter delivered some colored men to a "lieutenant whom he thought to be white." The white man remarked to the lieutenant "that he had brought him a good bunch of Negroes, and had plenty more down there if he wanted them. At first, he said, they took all the men who had just purchased little farms, so that the property would soon return to the original owners, and then they just went out through the country and gathered them up everywhere, so that they could get their full quota without sending their white boys. Of course, he said, the Negroes didn't know any better and just thought they had to come."

Where to Train Them?

One of the big problems facing the

War Department was where to train the Negro soldiers. The most natural thing, geographically at least, would have been to place them in camps in the South. But a cry of rage went up from the Bilbos, the Bleases, the Vardamens, and other politicians. "Sooner or later the War Department will realize," foamed the Birmingham (Ala.) *Ledger*, "that Negro troops should not be mobilized or trained in the South, and the sooner the better." The leading southern papers, including the Columbia (S. C.) *State*, the Houston (Texas) *Post*, the Vicksburg (Miss.) *Herald*, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and others, expressed similar sentiments.

But cannon fodder was in demand and labor troops were needed. The government compromised along lines suggested by the Arkansas *Gazette* which thought that Negro soldiers should be trained in the South. "But mistakes should be avoided. For instance, it would be a grave error to send Negro sergeants from Negro regular regiments into the South to assist in the training of Negro troops, and it would be a greater error to send Negro commissioned officers. Also at no cantonment should there be a greater percentage of Negro troops than one-fourth of the total soldiers there."

Back of such objections, of course, was the fear of letting Negroes learn to use arms. The *Literary Digest* of April 21, 1917, says: "Among southern Congressmen also we find opposition to universal service on the ground that it would be inadvisable to give thousands of Negroes training in the use of arms."

This problem was overcome by placing over three-fourths of all Negroes called to the army into labor battalions (longshoremen, road builders, ditch diggers, wood cutters, etc.) where they drilled with picks, shovels and axes. Out of over 200,000 Negro soldiers sent to France, only 42,000 were combat troops and 158,000 were laborers! Even many of the combat troops were kept at hard labor for weeks at a time. One of the excuses was that the Negro labor battalions were too ignorant to learn the use of arms. Yet among them were thousands of high school and college graduates, including many teachers, doctors, lawyers.

From the moment they arrived in the training camps, the Negro soldiers had to contend with jim crowism. They were put into solid black units and scattered to the four winds, a few being in almost every camp in the country. It was only after they arrived in France that enough of them were gathered together to form the first Negro division, the 92nd. They were discriminated against in the matter of privileges such as leave and entertainment; they were deprived of colored leadership while in the camps; they were given cast off clothing, instances being recorded where cast off or obsolete and vari-colored uniforms came in crates marked "for the colored draft." Charles H. Williams, a special investigator for the War Department, has given us an intimate picture of the life of Negro troops at Camp Hill, Newport News, Va., in the winter of 1917–18:

> "In the coldest weather experienced in this part of the country in a quarter of a century . . . (they) lived in tents without floors or stoves. Most of them would get only one blanket and some could not secure even that. Twenty to thirty occupied one tent 16 feet square. Often men reaching the camp in zero weather were compelled to stand around a fire outside all night or sleep under trees for partial shelter from the wind, rain, and snow. For four months no bathing facilities or changes of clothing were provided. Food was served outdoors and often froze before it could be eaten."

Conditions in some camps were so unbearable that soldiers became desperate and revolted against their tormentors. For instance, THE CRISIS for January, 1918, reports a near-mutiny of thirty colored soldiers of the First Separate Company of Maryland who were put in prison "for refusing to act as hostlers at Camp McClellan, Alabama." A major mutiny was barely avoided in Spartanburg, S. C., where the New York National Guard, including the 15th (Negro) regiment, was training.

24th Infantry in Houston

But the most important of all was the famous revolt of the 24th Infantry (colored) of the regular army at Camp Logan (Houston) Texas in August, 1917. This regiment had a long record of distinguished service, dating back to 1869 and under another name to the Civil War itself. Prior to the Houston "riots" it had been highly honored by General Pershing and other officers and it had served as a guard of honor for the Liberty Bell on a part of its way home from the California exposition in 1916.

White police officers in Houston started trying to terrorize the 24th Infantry as soon as it arrived at Camp Logan. The military policemen of the regiment, contrary to all American experiences, were disarmed. Taking advantage of this, white policemen often insulted and assaulted Negro soldiers and officers. Early in August, for instance, two colored soldiers were brutally beaten by city detectives who boarded a street car and pulled the men out. More serious trouble was brewing.

On August 23, while two of the most vicious of the local policemen were beating up a Negro woman, a Negro soldier tried to intervene; he was beaten into a pulp with revolvers. Corporal Baltimore, an unarmed Negro military policeman, inquired into the trouble and was also beaten up for his pains. The soldiers back in Camp Logan heard about the trouble and thinking that Baltimore, who was very popular with his men, had been killed they rushed to the armory, seized their guns and shouting "to hell with going to France, let's clean up the police" they started toward Houston. On the way a pitched battle was fought between the Houston policemen and a posse and about 150 Negro soldiers. Seventeen whites were alleged to have been killed, including one of the two officers who assaulted Corporal Baltimore earlier in the day. Martial law was declared and the Negro soldiers laid down their arms. Their leader, Sergeant Vida Henry, committed suicide rather than surrender.

After a military Scottsboro trial thirteen men were executed without a chance to appeal to the War Department and the President. Sixteen others were later condemned to die but widespread public protests won amnesty for ten of these. All told, 19 were hanged and 61 were sent to long terms in the penitentiary, most of them for life. After a long campaign under the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, all of the imprisoned men were freed except one who escaped and was recaptured. Later two violated parole and were sent back. Today these three are in Leavenworth.* No attempt was ever made to punish the white policemen who provoked the uprising.

Because of the cry of outraged public opinion at the execution of the men without a chance to appeal, an order was issued that no other men under death sentence were to be executed without the right of appeal. This came about partly through the sincere efforts of Acting Judge Advocate General Samuel T. Ansell to liberalize the arbitrary system of military justice. But primarily it was because of the Houston Martyrs. And today both white and colored men are walking the streets as free men because 13 courageous Negro soldiers went to their death on a cold gray Texas dawn early in December, 1917.

(This is the first part of an article by Mr. Wilson. The second will appear in the March issue.)

NEED A LAWYER?

See pages 60-61

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*In 1938 the last man was freed.

Books by Negro Authors in 1938

Paragraph Reviews for the Guidance of CRISIS Readers

The widespread interest in this compilation since it first appeared in The Crisis in February, 1937, has led to the request that Arthur B. Spingarn, chairman of the national legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P., make it a regular annual feature. Mr. Spingarn, whose hobby is the collection of books by Negro authors, submits the following reviews for 1938

THE following list of books and pamphlets (like the lists which appeared previously in THE CRISIS) does not pretend to be complete, but it notices every book and pamphlet in English written by a Negro and published in the year 1938 that has come to the attention of the compiler. (A notice sent, in care of THE CRISIS, to the compiler of a forthcoming work in 1939 will insure its inclusion in next year's list.) A few works published in 1937 which reached him too late for insertion in last year's list are noted below. No comments are made on books already reviewed in THE CRISIS, (other than to indicate the place where such reviews may be found) on books which the compiler has not read or (for lack of space) on the pamphlets listed in Section II.

Books by Negroes in foreign languages do not come within the scope of this survey, although quite a few such works of merit appeared in 1938. Some idea of their scope and importance may be gathered from a review by Dr. Mercer Cook in the June, 1938, issue of THE CRISIS.

I

Azikiwe, Nnamdi. Renascent Africa. Accra, Gold Coast, W. A. The Author. 313 pp. 12 sh. 6 d.

An interesting criticism of Africans by a native African educated in the United States, based on the optimistic thesis that the twentieth century African is bound to be renascent and destined to become an important factor in the peace of the world.

Brawley, Benjamin. Editor. The Best Stories of Paul Laurence Dunbar. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938. 258 pp. $2.50.

A selection of stories culled from the four volumes of Dunbar, now out of print, with an introduction by the editor.

Brown, Sterling. Negro Poetry and Drama. Washington, The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1937 for 1938. 42 pp. Paper $.25; boards $.50.

Brown, Sterling. The Negro in American Fiction. Washington, The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1937 for 1938. 209 pp. Paper $.25; boards $.50.

These two volumes published in the series of "Bronze Booklets" are despite a few minor omissions, the best treatments of the subjects that have been published to date. Professor Brown writes with sound scholarship and a keen critical sense. Their worth and small cost should insure for them a wide circulation.

Cannon, Elizabeth P. and Whiting, Helen A. Country Life Stories. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1938. 95 pp. $.65.

An excellent book intended for use in rural schools, very well adapted for its purpose with good illustrations, some in color. An unusually good piece of bookmaking at its price.

Carrol, Joseph C. Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800–1865. Boston, Chapman & Grimes, (1938). 229 pp. $2.00.

This is the most complete history of the slave insurrection available and although more objectivity would have improved the book, it covers the field adequately and is an important contribution to Negro history. It has a full biography of the author's sources.

Collins, Leslie M. Exile. [Fort Valley, Ga. The Author], 1938. 39 pp. $1.95.

Slight but delicate and sensitive poems in English and Spanish; a first publication of promise.

Cotter, Joseph S., Sr. Collected Poems. New York, Henry Harrison, (1938). 78 pp. $1.50.

In this volume Mr. Cotter (who is the father of the late Joseph S. Cotter, Jr.) has collected the best poems of his previous volume published over a period of many years. They display a real, if minor, talent.

Cruickshank, Alfred. Poems in all Moods. Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1938. $1.50.

Darlington, Levi A. Calliope. Trinidad, Cosmopolitan Printing Works, 1938. 124 pp.

Respectable but uninspired verse.

Davis, Frank Marshall. Through Sepia Eyes., Chicago, Black Cat Press, 1938. 10 pp. $.50.

The four poems in this unusually well printed booklet show that in his third published work Mr. Davis, despite his unmistakable talent, has not yet succeeded in transmuting his eloquence and passion into poetry and that he still remains a poet of great promise.

Davis, W. Milan. Pushing Forward.

A history of the Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College in Mississippi.

Eppse, Merl R. The Negro, Too, in American History. Nashville, National Educational Publishing Co. 544 pp. $3.00.

A history of the Negro in the United States. Illustrated.

Fauset, Arthur Huff. Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, (1938). 187 pp. $1.00.

It is over sixty years since the last biography of this remarkable woman was written and a new life was sorely needed. Mr. Fauset's has exhausted all the available material and has admirably filled this want.

Ford, James W. The Negro and the Democratic Front. New York, International Publishers, 1938. $2.00.

This book is made up principally of previously published pamphlets and sets forth the orthodox Communist point of view with ability and eloquence.

Ford, Theodore P. God Wills the Negro. Chicago, The Geographical Institute Press, 1939 for 1938. 159 pp. $2.00.

Mainly an attempted theological interpretation of the Egyptian and Ethiopian background of the American Negro.

Gilbert, Mercedes. Aunt Sara's Wooden God. Boston, the Christopher Publishing House, (1938). 271 pp. $2.00.

A novel by the well known actress. The plot is good. The story would have been more interesting had it been better written.

Gordon, Asa H. The Georgia Negro. Ann Harbor, Michigan, Edward Brothers, Inc., 1937. 426 pp. $2.00.

An account of the Negro in Georgia from slavery to date attempting to cover all phases of his conditions and activities and to give the records of achievements of the more successful natives of that state.

Hershaw, Fay M. and Collins, Flaurience. Around the World with Hershaw and Collins. Boston, Meador Publishing Co., 1938. 151 pp. $2.00.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for August at page 124.

Hill, T. Arnold. The Negro and Economic Reconstruction. Washington, The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1937 for 1938. 80 pp. Paper $.25; boards $.50.

This, one of the "Bronze Booklets" is a brief but important account of the past, present and future of the Negro worker; a real contribution to the subject.

Holly, Alonzo P. B. God and the Negro. Nashville, National Baptist Publishing House, 1938. 176 pp. $1.00.

As its subtitle states, this work purports to be a "synopsis of God and the Negro or the Biblical record of the Race of Ham."

Hughes, Langston. A New Song. New York, International Workers Order, 1938. 31 pp. $.15.

Many of the poems in this collection are reprinted from earlier works. Of the new poems, there are two stirring ballads, but in most of the other verses the poet is subordinated to the propagandist.

Hughes, Langston. Don't You Want to be Free? In One Act Play Magazine for October, pages 359–393. New York, 1938. $.50.

A moving poetic play that has been running for a long time at The Suitcase Theatre in Harlem, and has been heard over the radio.

Hughes, Langston. Soul Gone Home in Contemporary One Act Plays, edited by William Kozlenko. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. $2.00.

A short one act play in prose.

Hunton, Addie Waite. William Alphaeus. A Pioneer Prophet of Young Men. New York, Association Press, 1938. 176 pp. $2.00.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for October at page 339.

Hurston, Zora Neale. Tell My Horse. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, (1938). 301 pp. $3.00.

A book on folklore and voodoo in Jamaica and Hayti with an appendix of songs with music, written as only Miss Hurston could have written it. The book is doubly valuable in that she participated personally in most of the rites described.

Jackson, Luther P. A History of Virginia State Teachers Association. Norfolk, The Guide Publishing Co., Inc., 1937. 112 pp.

A well told story of Negro educators and education in Virginia from 1865 to the present day.

James, C. L. R. The Black Jacobins. The Story of Toussaint L'Ouverture. New York, The Dial Press, (1938). 328 pp. $3.75.

A history of the revolution in St. Domingo and the events and causes that led up to it. It is brilliantly written, frankly from the Marxist viewpoint, and is the best life of Toussaint. Originally published in England.

James, Doris. My Education at Piney Woods School. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938. $1.00.

Jarvis, J. Antonio. Brief History of the Virgin Islands. St. Thomas, V.I., The Art Shop, (1938). 258 pp. $3.00.

The story of St. Thomas, Santa Cruz and St. John from their discovery to the present day competently written by a native Virgin Islander.

Jefferson, LeRoy. The Old Negro and the New Negro. Boston, Meador Publishing Co. $2.00.

Johnson, Charles S. The Negro College Graduate. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938. 399 pp. $3.00.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for May at page 155.

Johnson, James Weldon. In Our Racial and National Minorities, edited by Francis J. Brown and John S. Roucek. New York, Prentice Hall, 1937. 877 pp. $5.00.

Contains three articles, The American Negro, The Negro and Racial Conflicts and The Contribution of the Negro, written by the late Mr. Johnson with his usual clarity of vision, sense of proportion and practical wisdom.

Kenyatta, Jomo. Facing Mount Kenya. The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu. London, Secker & Warburg, (1938). 339 pp. 12 sh., 6d.

A competent and instructive contribution to African ethnology by a well trained scholar of pure African parentage. As a first hand account of a representative African culture it is of great value.

Mays, Benjamin E. The Negro's God. Bostou, Chapman and Grimes, 1938. 269 pp. $2.00.

A summary of the conception of God by Negroes from 1760 to the present, with more emphasis on the ideas of their leaders than of the great masses of the people.

Merrit, Raleigh H. From Captivity to Fame. Boston, Meador Publishing Co., 1938. $2.00.

A reprint of the biography of George Washington Carver, originally published in 1929.

RICHARD WRIGHT

Author of "Uncle Tom's Children," an important book of the year

Murphy, Beatrice M. Editor. Negro Voices. An Anthology of Contemporary Verse. Illustrated by Clifton Thompson Hill. New York, Henry Harrison, (1938). 176 pp. $1.50.

This collection is made up chiefly of verse by young unknown writers; as is to be expected only a few show promise; the majority of its contents is minor and imitative.

Nyabongo, Akiki K. The "Bisoro Stories." Oxford, Basis Blackwell (1937). 111 pp. 3 sh. 6d.

A collection of folk tales by the brother of a Native ruling potentate, educated at Oxford, written so that "Western children will derive amusement and profit from them." Illustrated.

Padmore, George. Africa and World Peace. London, Secker & Warburg, 1937. 285 pp. 7 sh. 6d.

An able exposition of the ruthless exploitation of Africa and the connection between African colonization and European politics leading to a second World War. The author is a native of Trinidad and a frequent contributor to THE CRISIS.

Powell, A. Clayton, Sr. Against the Tide. An Autobiography. New York, Richard R. Smith, 1938. 327 pp. $2.00.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for January, 1939, at page 30.

Powell, Raphael P. Human Side of a People and the Right Name. New York, The Philemon Co., 1938. 399 pp. $3.00.

Contains some interesting matter relating to the Negro but does not measure up to the standards of modern scholarship.

Reid, Ira DeA. and Johnson, Charles. The Urban Worker in the United States. Washington, D. C. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938. 127 pp. $.25.

Statistical tables with a short introduction. Valuable for source material.

Roussève, Charles Barthelmy. The Negro in Louisiana. New Orleans, The Xavier University Press, 1937. 212 pp. $2.00.

A history of the Negro in Louisiana and an evaluation of the literature he has produced; for the earlier material it leans heavily on the pioneer work of Desdunes but continues the story to the present time.

Shackleford, Jane Dabney. The Child's Story of the Negro. Washington, The Associated Publishers, Inc., (1938). 219 pp. $1.40.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for March at page 92.

Smith, Andrew J. The Negro in the Political Classics of the American Government. Washington, The Author (1938). 27 pp. $.50.

Very brief biographies of all Negroes who have served in the U. S. Senate and the House of Representatives.

Spratlin, V. B. Juan Latino. Slave and Humanist. New York, Spinner Press, Inc., 1938. 216 pp. $2.00.

The first biography in English of the first Negro to distinguish himself as a scholar and poet in Europe. Besides supplying all available information on Latino, Professor Spratlin has included a critical study of his writings and a translation of a Spanish seventeenth drama on Latino.

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A reprint of this valuable grammar, the first of its kind and still the best. It was originally published in Port of Spain, Trinidad, in 1869, and is now very rare.

Thomas, Jesse O. Negro Participation in the Texas Centennial Exposition. Boston, Christopher Publishing House (1938). 154 pp. $1.75.

A detailed account of the activities of Negroes at the Texas Centennial Exposition.

Turner, Lucy Mae. 'Bout Cullud Folkses. New York, Henry Harrison (1938). 64 pp. $1.50.

These poems by a granddaughter of Nat Turner display little, if any, of the passion and the genius of her illustrious ancestor.

Wellington, Joseph. The Glory of Womanhood. New York, Alliance Press, 1938. 45 pp. $1.00.

A reprint of a rhetorical address on this subject.

Wesley, Charles H. The Collapse of the Confederacy. Washington, The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1937 for 1938. 225 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for August at page 276.

Whiting, Helen Adele. Negro Folk Tales for Pupils of Primary Grade, Book I., Washington, The Associated Publishers, Inc., (1938). unpaged. $1.10.

Whiting, Helen Adele. Negro Art, Music and Rhyme for Young Folks. Book II., Washington, The Associated Publishers, Inc., (1938). unpaged. $1.10.

These two books, charmingly illustrated by Lois Mailou Jones are intended for supplementary reading in the primary grades.

Wright, Louis T. Chapter XXII, Head Injuries in Charles L. Scudder's Treatment of Fractures. Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., 1938. 1208 pp. $12.50.

Dr. Wright's chapter of 43 pages in the eleventh edition of this standard work is an important contribution to surgery and is probably destined to be a definite work on its subject.

(*Continued on page 62*)

Our House

By Elisabeth Thomas

A story about a house, which might easily be the story of two races and America

"YES, built by Edward. Of course I planned it. A good many years ago . . . been with us a long time". . .

"I don't know; Negroes live forever."

As Dorcas went in and came out, the door let the diners' voices through to Edward who stood beside the pantry table. Mr. and Mrs. Burden were going away this evening for their usual autumn holiday and he had been told to be at hand for any last instructions. Waiting, he listened absently as they answered their guest's remarks about the panels, the fireplace and the moldings of the dining room.

"In all Cumberland county you won't find a better house, if I do say so. My plan of course."

"Edward had his brothers to help him, you must remember, dear," Mrs. Burden's voice said. "They were all young fellows then, quick and obliging. Cephas married first, didn't he? Or did Amser? They took other places with their wives. Ungrateful after we'd given them work. But we'd have had to let them go later, so it was just as well. Then Edward married and his wife came to cook for us. She was an excellent cook, for years . . . but she died."

Yes, Lulie had died; first she had lived though, that gentle smiling brown girl Edward had found and brought here long ago. In the cabin beyond the orchard she had raised their brown smiling babies; here in the big house she had worked for the white folks and pleased them. In that cabin and this kitchen she had lived all of her gentle life; as he stood and watched his granddaughter in her trim apron and skimpy black dress pass through the pantry carrying the dishes of succotash, tomatoes, hot rolls which his cousin Tilly had cooked, the memory of Lulie was a pleasant scent to him.

"Jelly?" Mrs. Burden's voice urged, "a little with your meat? I put up more than a hundred glasses of jellies this summer . . . to my friends at Christmas . . . of course I don't do the preserving myself."

Edward heard without giving much thought to what was being said. Mr. and Mrs. Burden had been talking for a good many years: to their son grown and gone now, to their guests, to each other, to him and his kin. Sometimes they spoke crossly, sometimes they complained or called in a hurry, but mostly they just talked. The sound was as much a part of Edward's working life as was the sound of the animals breathing in their stalls, the whispering of the brush harrow he dragged over the garden, the creaking of winter boughs in the orchard. Like the other creatures and objects they, too, said their own words over and over.

Yet this evening they were saying something he had not heard before or hearing had not heeded. 'Edward growing old'—yes he supposed he was, with his occasional miseries, though he had no exact record of his age. After this house was built Mr. Burden had given him charge of the land. Cornfields, calves, peach trees and apple trees, he had raised up the land as carefully as he had raised up the house. For awhile his children had helped him—white teeth shining, bare toes shoving the dust—but they had grown up and gone out to their own work, and he was still in charge, still worked the land. When the Burdens gave up the horses he had learned to drive a car. And only this afternoon he had carried out on his shoulders the trunk packed for a month's visit; a heavy trunk, but he had black man's shoulders—

His proud reflections were broken into by the tinkle of the bell.

"Well, Edward, trunk off?"

"Yes, sir." He handed the check to Mr. Burden.

"Edward, this is Mr. Doby who is going with us tonight. He has been admiring the house. I told him I never could have built it without you."

The guest set down his wine glass and looked up at Edward.

"Did you make these fireplace columns, too? And that corner cupboard?"

Edward glanced at the two flat pillars which held up the mantel protecting the drowsing red fire; he glanced toward the corner where china was ranged on carved shelves; he smiled down at the guest.

"Yes, sir," he said.

"Wonderful. And that great door and those windows?"

"Yes, sir, Mr. Burden he chose the wood, I worked it for him."

"You did some fine work in this room. Such dignity, so tranquil—that's one of the handsomest doors I've ever seen."

Edward's brothers stepped into his heart. . . . Those days when all of them worked together, big strong fellows, prising the ox-huge foundation stones, swinging the long boards over their shoulders, black boys' shoulders. . . . Sometimes they sang or shouted for pleasure in the feel of their strength as they worked.

"Thank you, sir," Edward said. "It's a long time ago."

"It is indeed," said Mr. Burden. "I couldn't build a house like this today, Doby. Eh, Edward?"

"No sir, not like this."

"Well, come now, we must get that 7:45. Bring the car around. We'll leave it at Romer's to be overhauled while we're away. But no—you can't get back then."

"I'll get back, Mr. Burden."

"Any last orders to Edward, my dear?"

"No. I don't think so. I've talked over everything with Tilly. She and Dorcas will get the canning finished and clean the house. You're going to help them with the windows and rugs, Edward. Take good care of the house. It will be a vacation for all of you."

"Yes'm, thank you."

Edward helped Mr. Burden up from his chair, the guest helped Mrs. Burden up from hers and they went out of the dining room by the big door. Edward went out by the pantry door, through the back entry, and brought the car around.

IT was late when he got back from the station. Tasting crisp autumn air, he hoped Tilly was saving him some supper. But though the kitchen waited in warmth with a spicy smell from the stove, no one was there. The table was crowded with glass jars and with the baskets of beans, onions, cucumbers and corn he had carried in that afternoon. "Two-three days' work for Tilly to find the top of that table," he said to himself, going on through the entry into the large square hall.

From the library came the glow of the lamp and the sound of swing on the radio. Edward looked in. Dorcas in a blue silk frock stood at the telephone snapping the fingers of her free hand and swaying her thin little body to the music while she giggled and chatted with a friend.

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Remembering Nat Turner

(For R. C. L.)

By Sterling Brown

We saw a bloody sunset over Courtland, once Jerusalem,
As we followed the trail that old Nat took
When he came out of Cross Keys down upon Jerusalem,
In his angry stab for freedom a hundred years ago.
The land was quiet, and the mist was rising,
Out of the woods and the Nottaway swamp,
Over Southampton the still night fell,
As we rode down to Cross Keys where the march began.

When we got to Cross Keys, they could tell us little of him,
The Negroes had only the faintest recollection:
"I ain't been here so long, I come from up roun' Newsome;
Yassah, a town a few miles up de road,
The old folks who coulda told you is all dead an' gone.
I heard something, sometime; I doan jis remember what.
'Pears lak I heard that name somewheres or other.
So he fought to be free. Well. You doan say."

An old white woman recalled exactly
How Nat crept down the steps, axe in his hand,
After murdering a woman and child in bed,
"Right in this here house at the head of those stairs"
(In a house built long after Nat was dead).
She pointed to a brick store where Nat was captured,

(Nat was taken in the swamp, three miles away)
With his men around him, shooting from the windows
(She was thinking of Harper's Ferry and old John Brown.)
She cackled as she told how they riddled Nat with bullets
(Nat was tried and hanged at Courtland, ten miles away)
She wanted to know why folks would come miles
Just to ask about an old nigger fool.
"Ain't no slavery no more, things is going all right,
Pervided thar's a good goober market this year.
We had a sign post here with printing on it,
But it rotted in the hole, and thar it lays,
And the nigger tenants split the marker for kindling.
Things is all right, naow, ain't no trouble with the niggers
Why they make this big to-do over Nat?"

As we drove from Cross Keys back to Courtland,
Along the way that Nat came down upon Jerusalem,
A watery moon was high in the cloud-filled heavens,
The same moon he dreaded a hundred years ago.
The tree they hanged Nat on is long gone to ashes,
The trees he lurked behind have rotted in the swamps.

The bus for Miami and the trucks boomed by,
And touring cars, their heavy tires snarling on the pavement.
Frogs piped in the marshes, and a hound bayed long,
And yellow lights glowed from the cabin windows.
As we came back the way that Nat led his army,
Down from Cross Keys, down to Jerusalem,
We wondered if his troubled spirit still roamed the Nottaway,
Or if it fled with the cock-crow at daylight,
Or lay at peace with the bones in Jerusalem,
Its restlessness stifled by Southampton day.

We remembered the poster rotted through and falling,
The marker split for kindling a kitchen fire.

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS

Advisory Board: J. E. Spingarn, Dr. Louis T. Wright, Lewis Gannett, Walter White

Anti-lynching Bill Again

AN excellent reason for passing federal anti-lynching legislation was given by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt January 12 before the Second National Conference on Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth. Said she: ". . . I would like to see it passed because I think it puts us as a whole on record against something which we should certainly all of us, anywhere in this country, be against."

In other words, the habitual declaration, "I deplore lynching, but I do not favor a law" should give way to action to correct the evil deplored. Besides, America is on the spot before the world. We cannot lecture other countries without being derided as hypocrites unless we first put our own house in order.

National Defense and Negroes

AMBITIOUS plans are announced for national defense. Hundreds of millions of dollars are to be spent making the United States ready for any emergency. One item is to be the expansion of the air force, with the training of as many as 20,000 men in aviation at selected centers, some of the latter to be at colleges.

What part is the Negro American to have in this program of national defense? In this issue THE CRISIS prints the first of two articles on the treatment of the Negro in the army. We do this to remind America that democracy begins at home, that wholehearted defense of the country begins with making each citizen feel an honorable pride in his homeland —a pride rooted in the treatment he receives from his country.

The country's attitude toward its loyal Negroes has been shameful, to put the situation mildly. In the army Negroes may enlist in only two branches, cavalry and infantry. By dint of the hardest fighting they have managed to get one or two candidates into the military academy at West Point.

Negroes may not serve in the Coast Artillery, the Marine Corps, the air service or any other branch except cavalry and infantry. One of the regular cavalry regiments—the Tenth—has been broken up into three parts and its members reduced to the duties of servants for other (white) units. No longer is the proud Tenth a combat regiment. One of the two infantry regiments—the Twenty-fifth—is stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., *but is deprived of arms.* Presumably it drills with broomsticks!

In the navy, Negroes may serve their country only as mess attendants. The doors of the naval academy at Annapolis have been barred much more tightly than those at West Point.

When George Washington was winning freedom for this country from England he had in his army white and black men fighting side by side in the same companies and regiments. More than 150 years later, with progress all about us, our present government says it cannot enlist Negroes and white men together.

THE CRISIS wants Negroes all through the army and the navy and the other defense services. There is no good reason why we should not have Negro aviators, or generals or admirals. Judging from the number of spies being uncovered in our armed services, the country would better give its Negroes access to some responsible positions than welcome newly-naturalized foreigners into the national defense.

Finally, how can a country expect a class of citizens to rally to its defense wholeheartedly when those citizens receive the dirty end of all deals even at the very moment they are being asked to offer their lives for the nation?

Lily White Democracy

IN the thousands of discussions raging up and down the country on democracy versus dictatorships it is noticeable—glaringly—that few commentators touch upon the American hot potato, the Negro. Westbrook Pegler, to his credit, handled the matter in the usual Pegler ungloved style in his widely syndicated column of January 7.

Some editorial writers have outdone themselves in elaborate apologies and "explanations" of the difference between Nazi persecution of the Jews and American persecution of the Negro. Of course, only a Mark Sullivan or a Borah is possessed of the inherent, unconscious inconsistency to do justice to this subject, but many others have had their try.

No one of them has explained to date just what the difference is—to a murdered man—between the government *sanctioning* his murder by decree, or *permitting* his murder, the while muttering pious technical asides.

There is, of course, an important difference, as thoughtful Jews themselves have explained. Negroes in this country still have—in most sections—the right to protest and work to improve their lot. In Germany the Jew has no such privilege. There is no hope.

But the apologists in this country are not this honest. They take pride, seemingly, in the fact that the Negro is still alive and smiling in our midst. Few of them choose to compare the pronouncements of our form of government with the actual treatment of the Negro citizens. That is precisely the point stressed by Goebbels for Hitler and Gayda for Mussolini. The American hair-splitters profess not to see this hypocrisy.

The outraged orators and the frantic flag-wavers would do well to remember that we must either have democracy for all or at some sure date we shall have democracy for none.

We Are Ashamed For Them

MARIAN ANDERSON has sung in all the great countries of the world. More important than that, from the angle of American race prejudice, she has sung and has been acclaimed in the leading cities of the South, in their largest music halls.

It has remained for the Daughters of the American Revolution, who own the one fine concert hall in Washington, D. C., to bar Marian Anderson from their stage because she is not white. In the capital of her own country, in the seat of the world's principal democracy, an artist who has been called the greatest singer of our time must perform in a small junior high school auditorium because the D.A.R. rates color of skin above art or democracy.

How Dallas, Tex., must be laughing—Dallas, which gave Miss Anderson as fine a reception as New York City!

The ladies of the D.A.R. apparently are not capable of shame. We Negroes, who have been here for 319 years, whose ancestors fought on Boston Commons, at Bunker Hill, and left bloody footprints at Valley Forge with George Washington—we are ashamed for them.

Frederick Douglass

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panies and the legislature soon forced the abolition of this practice, which was shortly followed by the repeal of the anti-intermarriage law.

After the publication of his *Narrative* in 1845, Douglass toured England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, arousing widespread and powerful support for the abolition cause. Urged to remain in England and offered money with which to settle, Douglass refused to do so in order to return to carry on the fight for emancipation.

The *North Star* Is Started

English anti-slavery friends, however, raised the money necessary to purchase his freedom and twenty-five hundred dollars to enable Douglass to start a newspaper. Upon his return to America, this venture met with opposition from the Garrisonian Abolitionists. This dissuaded Douglass for a time, but in 1847 at Rochester, N. Y. he finally launched the *North Star,* which he made a powerful weapon in the struggle. The responsibility of conducting this paper and the necessity of meeting opposite views compelled him to renounce the views of the Garrisonians.

In the crisis now developing in the country, Douglass played a signal role, striking forceful and telling blows. In a powerful reply to Henry Clay, delivered in Boston at Faneuil Hall in June 1849, he sharply denounced the revived Colonization Movement, the pro-slavery war against Mexico, the prejudice against color, and created a sensation when he declared: "I should welcome the intelligence tomorrow that the slaves had risen in the South." At the Broadway Tabernacle in New York in 1850, he succeeded by the sheer power of his eloquence and wit in quelling a pro-slavery mob. His Fourth of July Oration in Rochester in 1852 was a masterful philippic. At the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in New York in 1853, he made a keen analysis and forecast of the political situation revealing the development, policy, and machinations of the slavery party: "Old party ties are broken. Like is finding its like on either side of these issues, and the great battle is at hand."

Douglass bravely resisted the Fugitive Slave Law, maintaining his home at Rochester as a station of the Underground Railroad. Fearlessly he denounced the Dred Scott decision: "We can appeal from this hell-black judgment of the Supreme Court, to the court of common sense and common humanity." Speaking at the celebration of West Indian Emancipation the same year, Douglass declared this to be "the most interesting and sublime event of the nineteenth century."

Douglass aided John Brown, but did not go with him to Harper's Ferry, because of his conviction that he had other vital work to do for the abolition of slavery. In this he is proved to have been correct, for he rendered invaluable service in uniting all the progressive forces of the country against slavery and in securing the election of Lincoln. At Geneva, N. Y. on August 1, 1860, Douglass delivered a speech which proved his consummate political acumen and genuine statesmanship:

"The abolition idea is still abroad, and may yet be made effective. It has no powerful party distinctly committed to its realization, but has a party distinctly committed to a policy which the people generally think will do certain preliminary work essential to the overthrow of slavery . . . while the Republican party is far from an abolition party, a victory gained by it in the present canvass will be a victory gained by that sentiment over the wickedly aggressive pro-slavery sentiment of the country . . . The slaveholders know that the day of their power is over when a Republican president is elected . . . the threats of a dissolution of the union in case of the election of Lincoln, are tolerable endorsements of the anti-slavery tendencies of the Republican party; and for one, Abolitionist though I am, and resolved to cast my vote for an Abolitionist, I sincerely hope for the triumph of that party over all the odds and ends of slavery combined against it."

Urged Negro Troops

Yet Douglass criticized constantly and sharply all the illusions, weaknesses, vacillations, and attempted compromises of Lincoln and the Republican government with the Slave Power. From the very outbreak of the Civil War he worked incessantly to awaken, arouse, and mobilize a powerful public sentiment in the North for a vigorous prosecution of the war. "Make the war an abolition war" and "Employ the arm of the Negro" were his ringing slogans. When this necessity at last began to dawn upon the Administration and Governor Andrew of Massachusetts secured permission to raise two colored regiments, the 54th and 55th, Douglass issued on March 2, 1863, his stirring and powerful appeal: "Men of Color, To Arms!" But when by August 1, the government failed to keep its promise to put the Colored soldiers on an equal footing, giving them only half pay, making no promotions, and failing to act to prevent their horrible treatment when captured by the Confederates, Douglass wrote a sharp protest to Major Stearns in which he declared his refusal to enlist any more Negro troops until common justice would be accorded them.

Major Stearn's reply urged Douglass to confer with President Lincoln at the White House. He was cordially received by the President who listened patiently to his protest, and stated the reasons why he deemed it necessary to go slowly, and promised some remedial action shortly. Though not entirely satisfied with his reasons, Douglass was thoroughly impressed with Lincoln's honesty, and hence renewed recruiting.

When the Emancipation Proclamation came at last, Douglass immediately began a campaign for the enfranchisement of the freedmen. Following the foul assassination of Lincoln, Douglass fought during the entire Reconstruction period for the full enfranchisement, protection, and equality of the Negro freedmen. Leading a delegation of representative Negro citizens to interview President Andrew Johnson, Douglass was thus among the very first to strive for these rights. Andrew Johnson harangued and rebuffed the delegation, but he was forced to reveal his true reactionary policy. Whereupon Douglass and the delegation answered the President in an appeal addressed to the nation which declared: "Men are whipped oftenest who are whipped easiest. Peace between races is not to be secured by degrading one race and exalting another, . . . but by maintaining an equal state of justice between all classes."

Spurning the base appeals of those prejudiced and craven delegates who urged him not to attend the National Loyalists' Convention held in Philadelphia in September following, Douglass went manfully there and did a great deal to win the Convention to declare for the enfranchisement of the Negroes and the protection of white and black loyalists in the South.

Views on Labor

At the Convention of Colored Men held in Louisville, Ky., September 24, 1883, Douglass delivered an address to the people of the United States. On the labor question, Douglass made this weighty statement: "Not the least important among the subjects to which we invite your earnest attention is the condition of the labor class in the South. Their cause is one with the labor classes all over the world. The labor unions of the country should not throw away this colored element of strength . . . It is a great mistake for any class of laborers to isolate itself and thus weaken the bond of brotherhood between

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

The Inevitable Mr. Gaines

***The Missouri Student*, Columbia, Mo.**

THE Supreme Court's decision Monday may prove to be a pebble dropped into a calm pool. The pool measures nearly a score of states. At least, the total effect of the decision will be realized only as instances come up in the next few years.

A report from the state capitol indicates the legislature may provide a law school for Negroes at Lincoln university. But what about Journalism? What about Engineering? Our university has the best in Journalism. To what extent can the legislature provide equal opportunity in Journalism for the Negro? To what extent can it provide equal protection in education in any of the studies outside of those taught at Lincoln university?

Here, then, we meet the question: Can Missouri provide for the Negro a university of the completeness of the state university? It is apparent the state will employ every trick in its hand to maintain its traditional policy of separation of whites and Negroes in schools. At the same time it is fighting an uphill battle that measures as high as all the states who allow the Negro to mix with the white in educational institutions, American tradition of racial equality and topping it all, the written constitution. The hill is steep, and rugged, and the fight looms as a losing battle.

Of immediate importance to students is the possibility of Gaines occupying a seat in a Missouri university classroom. The law students were convinced Monday that Gaines would be "treated like a dog"—if he entered. Outspoken students said they would not sit by a Negro in class. Stronger voices announced they would leave school, if Gaines were admitted. The logic of the latter statement is ridiculous. Where would they go? The Supreme Court decision holds for the nation; consequently, all southern schools will be forced to allow whites and Negroes to study in the same institution.

In the trigger discussion, one caught the scent of Nazi anti-semitism, saw a race magnified in its role of an underdog. Lincoln university for the Negro. The Ghetto for the Jew. For, wherein is there a basic difference?

The South has come to reconcile the Yankee; the war that tore them apart gave the Negro equality. The question was settled 75 years ago; the consequences have been long in arriving. While the sting is sharp, it will wear off. The Supreme Court decision was inevitable. The university knew when it went beyond the state's borders to uphold its tradition of racial segregation in education that it had a slim 50 to 1 chance of winning. And now we have the decision.

We who are students will have no say as to what will be done about the Negro attending school, but it is we who will go to school with him. Few will have come for advanced education, and for the most part, will be a superior Negro.

Our actions in accepting him will define our status as Americans. Our pilgrim, continental, Gettysburg tradition is freedom and racial equality for all. It is our cue to pioneer the nation out of this last frontier of racial prejudice and superstition.

In a world seething with race prejudice and the grossest disregard of human rights, the decision of the Supreme Court, in a case taken to that tribunal by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that the State of Missouri must admit a Negro to the law school of the University of Missouri is cause for unlimited rejoicing....

This is an epoch-making decision, a milestone in the Negro's fight for his rights as a citizen, and it will cause consternation throughout the fifteen states which now deny to Negroes the advantages accorded to whites. That in most of these states the authorities will seek to circumvent the decision, I have no doubt. . . . I am very sure that in the more enlightened southern universities, if a quiet poll could be taken of the faculty, there would be discovered enough willingness to teach Negroes on equal terms with whites to startle the politicians, many of whom still use anti-Negro prejudice as part of their stock in trade in default of other state issues. . . . Issues and Men by Oswald Garrison Villard in *The Nation.*

We got no consolation out of the press reports which state that police officials in Germany are asking for jim crow sections for Jews who travel by rail. The fact that these officials claim that they are merely taking pattern after the "freest country in the world" the United States, calls for some serious thinking, not only on the part of Negroes and Jews, but also on the part of the government itself.

It has long been our theory that in fighting lynching in the South, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has done much to check its spread in the North. Following the same line of reasoning it seems to us that the Jews in this country, the land of the free, could see that by fighting jim crowism and discrimination in the United States they would be helping to kill such practices in Germany. . . .—St. Louis, Mo., *Argus.*

After twenty-two years in San Quentin for a crime which it is evident he did not commit, Tom Mooney has been freed by Governor Culbert L. Olson of California, who seems to be that *Rara Avis,* a politician who keeps his word.

The principal reason why Mooney is now free is because for twenty-two years the forces of liberalism and labor in this country have kept up a persistent national and international propaganda and have poured a fortune into his defense.

Meantime, all but a few hundred people seem to have forgotten all about the Scottsboro boys festering in an Alabama prison for a crime which they did not commit. . . .—Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier.*

Our white brethren have recently been getting so much publicity for depravity, that it will soon engender the charge that same has been acquired from their black brethren and so furnish the Ku Klux, Bilbos and others of that ilk, another reason for their transportation back to Africa.—Cincinnati, O., *Union.*

The Louisiana sheriff who wrote to N.A.A.C.P. officials saying, "If your anti-lynching bill had passed the last Congress or if it ever passes, it will have about as much effect on lynchings as the pouring of a mere drop of water in the Atlantic ocean," made an open threat against the United States government and issued a challenge to its law making and law enforcing agencies.

While the national Congress can take no notice of the threat and challenge at this time either to reprimand or penalize the sheriff, neither should the law-making body permit such bragging to influence their behavior in the Congress when the measure is brought up for a vote.—The Louisville *Defender,* Louisville, Ky.

Press Comment on the Gaines Case

THE CRISIS presents excerpts from editorials on the United States Supreme Court's decision in the University of Missouri case where Lloyd L. Gaines, a Negro college graduate, sought to enter the University of Missouri law school and was refused on account of color. On December 12, 1938, the highest court in the land ruled that Missouri either must admit him to its law school or provide a law school for Negro students

DAILY newspapers in all sections of the country commented editorially on the University of Missouri case.

The comments were surprisingly philosophical, even in southern dailies.

Strangely enough, the supreme court's opinion was coldly received by one small northern newspaper, the Rockville Center, (L. I.) N. Y. *Review-Star*. The reaction is not surprising to colored people who live in New York, for Long Island is known as a hotbed of southern feeling and its colored residents have to battle every inch of the way in order to hold their citizen rights.

The most extended discussion of the opinion and the problem which it brings up are contained in the South Carolina dailies, the *State* of Columbia, and the *News and Courier* of Charleston.

The South Carolina papers are continuously agitated about New Deal policies and so it is not surprising that they should try to link this University of Missouri case to the New Deal. The *News and Courier,* more than the *State,* is obsessed with the fear that Negroes may secure the ballot and the paper cannot go to press, seemingly, unless it contains some editorial, news item, headline, or other feature twisted in some manner to take a slap at the New Deal, or sound the alarm on Negro enfranchisement, or both.

Another curious reaction to the University of Missouri decision is the assertion by the *News and Courier* that most of the southern state-supported universities (for whites) are not much good anyway and that perhaps a scheme can be worked out for abolishing them or combining them or utilizing private colleges. The *News and Courier,* speaking of the law school at the University of South Carolina, calls it "more a hatchery for politicians than lawyers."

The Columbia, S. C., *State* also suggests that if the state universities are now to be invaded by a few Negro graduate students, southern parents will turn to the private colleges and church schools to educate their children. This possibility is suggested, also, by the Rockville Center, N. Y., daily.

In the main, however, the comments are sensible and everywhere editorial writers indicated a desire to have the states abide by the Constitution and provide facilities for the training of Negroes.

Of course, some inaccuracies were set down on paper in obedience to time-honored traditional thinking. Thus, we find the usually sober, Richmond, Va., *News Leader* earnestly advocating a most just course—the providing of equal facilities for professional training of Negroes—but for a fantastic reason: "except in the rarest case Negro boys and girls do better when they study with a considerable number of representatives of their own race . . . as they often are lonesome and sometimes are embarrassed among a large number of white students."

Philadelphia, Pa., *Bulletin*

Southern educational systems and budgets will possibly be due for considerable overhauling as a consequence of the Supreme Court decision regarding the facilities for instruction in law for Negroes in the State educational system of Missouri. . . .

This decision goes to swell the thick file of those which prove the guarantees of the Constitution are effective and real. They protect not only the Negro's life, liberty and property, but establish for him that equality before the law which dictatorship flouts but which is the life-breath of democracy.

Washington, D. C., *Post*

The impressive record of the Supreme Court in upholding individual rights, regardless of race or creed, was further extended by its decision in the Gaines case. . . .

It may rightly be said that the decision creates a difficult problem for Missouri. That state has elected to establish separate schools for white and colored pupils, which it of course has the right to do. To maintain that policy in this instance, however, it is under obligation to set up a competent law school for Negroes. . . .

Portland, Me., *Herald*

The six-to-two decision of the United States supreme court affirming the right of a Negro to be admitted to a Missouri law school will doubtless be hailed far and wide as the beginning of the end in Jim Crow education. . . .

That will seem to most states in which there is a Negro "problem" as a harsh ruling, and devious and numerous will be the attempts to evade the court ruling. . . .

Richmond, Va., *News-Leader*

In those southern states that have made decent, if partial, provision for the higher education of Negroes, all the comment today indicates that the decision in the Missouri case will lead to no upheaval.

It is agreed, with scarcely one dissenting voice, that the states of the South will meet the mandate of the court by providing "equal facilities" for the professional training of Negro youth. . . .

In Virginia, the proviso can be met. The State Board of Education has been anticipating such a decision as was handed down Monday. At the Teachers' College at Petersburg, a plant has been built that will meet every requirement. With a comparatively small increase in staff, it can do graduate work. . . .

St. Louis, Mo., *Post Dispatch*

. . . The United States Supreme Court brushed aside the more realistic approach of the Missouri Supreme Court, deciding the issue on a basis of pure logic, and since the court of last resort has spoken, there is nothing for the State to do but open the University of Missouri to Negroes who apply for law degrees or to provide a law school at Lincoln University.

St. Petersburg, Fla., *Independent*

Great uproar was made at the appointment, in 1937, of Hugo L. Black to the supreme court of the United States. It came out that he had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, fact which raised serious doubts as to whether he possessed a sufficiently unbiased and judicial temperament for the high post to which he had been elevated. . . .

In view of the doubts raised by this situation, it was pointed out that the real test would come when the supreme court dealt with its next case respecting Negro rights—at which time, many predicted, the new justice would prove himself still a klansman in spirit.

Yesterday such a test came. The court ruled, 6 to 2, that the stae of Missouri, which provides no separate law school for Negroes, would have to admit Negro applicants to the state university law school. Justice Black, the former klansman, concurred in this decision. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa., *Inquirer*

In ruling that Lloyd Gaines, a St. Louis Negro, has an unqualified right to be admitted to the law school of the University of Missouri, the Supreme Court has again upheld human rights and the American principle of equality of opportunity. . . .

This ruling, although probably causing consternation in some states other than Missouri, is thoroughly in keeping with the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that "No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." Gaines obviously was denied "equal protection of the laws" by Missouri.

The Supreme Court's insistence on new trials for the "Scottsboro boys" forced Alabama to accord a measure of justice to the defendants in that tragic case. By supporting a Negro's claim to equality in education it has again taken a firm stand against racial discrimination.

Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier*

The decision of the United States supreme court that the University of Missouri must admit a Negro to its law school in the absence of a state-supported school for Negroes within the state's border has the effect of a command to the University of South Carolina to admit Negroes to its professional departments. A Negro has applied for admission to its law school.

The states of the South may adopt one of several courses in respect to this issue.

They may admit Negroes to their white institutions, giving up the fight for racial separation.

They may establish separate professional schools for Negroes.

They may withdraw state aid to professional schools. That would be to abolish schools of law, pharmacy, teaching, medicine, engineering. (Journalism as taught in the southern universities is an undergraduate study and may scarcely be called professional.) . . .

Were the law school alone involved, the problem could be easily disposed of in South Carolina. No state-supported law school is needed or is desirable. The South Carolina law school has long been more a hatchery of politicians than lawyers, and the value of it to the commonwealth is a matter of grave doubt, to put the case in polite terms. . . .

In general the court's decision will increase the interest of southern people in their privately supported colleges, among which are their church colleges. . . .

Iowa City, Ia., *Iowan*

The supreme court yesterday ruled that the University of Missouri law school must admit Negro law students on an equal basis with students of any other race or creed.

The surprising thing is not the nature of the decision, but the fact that such a decision actually had to be made affecting a neighboring university.

We cannot quite see how the University of Missouri could be so narrow-minded—and so immersed in narrow-mindedness as to believe such undemocratic views universal and valid in the nation's highest court of justice.

We are glad that the University of Missouri's absurd self-assurance has been so realistically punctured.

Columbia, S. C., *State*

"The New Deal did it!" That's what *The State* hears people saying about the supreme court's decision establishing the principle of equal privileges for Negroes in state-supported education. *The State* is not certain whether the New Deal should be blamed, or praised, according to viewpoint, for Negro progress toward equality; perhaps it only speeded the process. As a rule that is all reformers do. . . .

Kansas City *Times*

. . . The high court opinion now issued would modify or clarify the previous decisions to make an equal opportunity for education mean "an equal opportunity 'within the state.'" Thus it would appear that the requirements of this decision could be met by the provision of legal training at Lincoln University, the state institution for Negroes at Jefferson City.

Asheville, N. C., *Times*

No racial bugbear for the South arises from the United States Supreme Court's decision with regard to a Negro student's application for matriculation in the law school of the University of Missouri.

It is a question of equal educational opportunity for the races, and on this issue the 6 to 2 decision simply hews to the plain line of constitutional rights. . . .

The North Carolina legislators will hear from Governor Hoxey's commission recommendations for an appropriation of nearly $700,000 for Negro schools and colleges. Acting on that deliberately considered proposal of a commission which made careful study of the matter, the legislature should have no difficulty, and no future regrets, in establishing graduate schools for the Negroes of the state in the present North Carolina centers of education for the Negroes.

Charlotte, N. C., *Observer*

We find no fault with the opinion nor with Chief Justice Hughes who wrote it.

He knew it would cut across the grain of the traditions and practices of the people of the southern states who have not yet attained to the more liberal view of racial equality reached in some other sections of the country. . . .

But the Chief Justice was compelled to be factual and not fictional in this matter. Duty coerced him into facing the realities and not the mere idealities or traditions which might become involved.

And it ought to be plain enough to any fair-minded critic that so long as the Constitution of the United States considers racial identities no bar to citizenship, and, inasmuch as, in a democracy, the benefits of government are to be freely dispensed to one and all alike, a Negro has a rightful claim as a citizen upon the government and the advantages of the higher, as well as the elementary or secondary education which the government provides. . . .

Richmond, Va., *Times-Dispatch*

. . . The Supreme Court's decision was that the mere declaration of a purpose to build a law school was insufficient, and that the scholarship arrangement is unsatisfactory, because the state "was bound to furnish him (the Negro plaintiff) within its borders facilities for legal education substantially equal to those which the state there afforded for persons of the white race."

That has put the issue squarely up to Virginia and the other southern states which have been providing scholarships for sending qualified Negroes to Howard university in Washington, D. C., or to Northern or Western institutions. It now remains to be seen what sort of plan can be worked out in the Old Dominion to take care of the situation which has arisen.

Fort Worth, Tex., *Star-Telegram*

The failure of southern states to provide tax-supported higher educational facilities for Negroes was certain to be challenged sooner or later, and the United States supreme court decision in the Missouri case requires that this provision be made. The alternative is to admit Negro students into state colleges and universities now limited to white enrollment.

Bluntly, in the case of Texas, the only place where a young Negro can obtain a college education at public expense, is at the Prairie View Normal, which has a limited curriculum and does not train for the professions. Only in recent years, Negro leaders sought to obtain a state appropriation of modest size which would pay the tuition for members of their race in colleges or universities of other states. The supreme court decision has set that plan aside as not being "proper provision for his (the Negro applicant's) legal training within the State." The next move would appear to be legislative appropriation to provide educational opportunities for Negro students, which could be in the form of annexes to state universities or enlargement of existing Negro colleges. . . .

Columbia, S. C., *State*

Last spring or summer a Negro made formal application for admission as a student to the University of South Carolina's school of law. Now that Negro has what is apparently an unequivocal decision of the supreme court of the United States to support his application. The highest court says he must be admitted, or afforded equal facilities in a state Negro institution for the study of law. The case decided by the supreme court was not brought by the South Carolina Negro. It went up from Missouri, but the fundamental facts are almost identical. . . .

What can South Carolina do about this? The simplest solution, for a time, might be to establish a school of law at the State College for Negroes in Orangeburg. Later the problems of educating Negroes in medicine, in pharmacy and in certain other professions and occupations might arise, to be dealt with as they arise. That is one possible plan of action.

Another is to admit Negroes to the institutions now exclusively for white students; but South Carolina will not do that willingly unless and until public opinion changes radically. . . .

In all of this *The State* is merely presenting a problem, and discussing it, without any present intention of urging dogmatic proposals for its solution. . . .

Incidentally, *The State* does not see how the supreme court could have decided the Missouri case except as it was decided.

Newport News, Va., *Daily Press*

. . . The Negroes and the white people of the Old Dominion have gotten along very well together for a great many years. However, sentiment throughout the state is overwhelmingly against mixing the races in the schools and the colleges and the Negroes on the whole realize it.

The State, however, must make some provision for higher education for the Negroes which is commensurate with that provided for the white people and whatever plan that is evolved must meet the principles enunciated by the supreme court in the Missouri case. In this undertaking we hope and believe that the responsible Negroes will co-operate, as they have co-operated for harmony in the past. . . .

Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier*

. . . In the southern states are too many state universities. Scarcely one of them is adequately supported. The people of no single southern state, unless Texas be the exception, can afford to maintain an institution rivaling Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Michigan, Wisconsin, California. For the advanced degrees there do not offer the work of those wealthy institutions. They are wanting in the facilities. They could have colleges in which the bachelor's degree would count for as much as it does in the rich institutions, though political influences now make it second-rate in most of them.

Admission of hordes of students on certification from "accredited high schools," that is admission without examination, is manifestly incompatible with any honest and effective plan of education, and half the "students" in southern state colleges have no business in

(*Continued on page* 61)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

New Anti-Lynch Bill Introduced in Senate

A new federal anti-lynching bill sponsored by Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York, Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana, and Arthur Capper of Kansas, was introduced in the Senate, January 19.

The Wagner-Van Nuys-Capper bill is the one which will be supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and others who have been carrying on the campaign for this legislation for many years.

Senator Capper, a Republican, this year joins the two Democratic sponsors of this legislation.

The new bill differs in only two minor details from the Wagner-Van Nuys bill which was filibustered to death in the Senate last February. The first change eliminated the exception of "gangster killings" contained in the old bill; the second change omitted the requirement that law enforcement officers establish that they had not been negligent in a lynching and placed this burden of proof upon the plaintiff.

The new bill still contains the section holding a county in which a lynching occurs liable for damages to be recovered by civil suit in the federal court. This section is regarded as the "heart" of the bill.

In a statement accompanying the introduction of the bill, the three sponsors of the measure pointed out that there had been seven lynchings during 1938, all of them occurring after the debate on the federal anti-lynching bill had been concluded in the Senate. The statement further asserted that no action had been taken by the states in the 1938 lynchings—"not even an arrest."

The companion anti-lynching bill in the House was introduced some days ago by Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan of New York. Congressman Gavagan's anti-lynching bill was passed by the House in April, 1937, but failed in the Senate.

The bills have been referred to the House and Senate judiciary committees respectively and it is expected that dates for hearings on them will be set soon by sub-committees designated to consider them.

In launching this campaign in support of the new bills, Walter White, N. A. A. C. P. secretary, said:

"The fight for this legislation is going to be a hard one. It always is because it touches the emotions of a great many people. We believe that the bill will get through the House if the proper support is put behind it at the proper times by the voters back home.

"The most difficult task of all will be in the Senate where the custom of unlimited debate permits a filibuster. The job in the Senate is to get enough senators to vote for limitation of debate (cloture). This requires a two-thirds vote. Once cloture is adopted, long speeches can be cut off, a time limit will be set on debate for each side, and a vote can be taken. We are confident that we will have enough votes in the Senate to pass this bill if it is allowed to come up for a vote."

REV. GRANT REYNOLDS
New president of the Cleveland, O., branch

Mrs. F. D. R. Supports Anti-Lynch Bill

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking before the national conference on Negro youth in Washington, D. C., January 12, came out flatly in support of the federal anti-lynching bill in answer to a question from the floor.

Mrs. Roosevelt declared that she favored speedy enactment of an anti-lynching bill. This is the first time the First Lady has stated publicly her opinion on the controversial legislation which has been before Congress ever since her husband entered the White House. It was known that she was interested in the discussions, pro and con, on the federal anti-lynching bill, but until January 12 she never took sides.

During the same question and answer period in which she endorsed the anti-lynching bill, Mrs. Roosevelt gave her approval to protest and agitation by minority groups for their rights. Said she:

"I think it is harmful everywhere for minorities to remain silent when minorities do not enjoy all the rights of a democracy."

Garner Would Have G-Men Probe Lynchings

A proposal, said to be sponsored by Vice-President John N. Garner, and rumored to have the tentative approval of President Roosevelt, would authorize the famed G-men of the Department of Justice to make an investigation of each lynching and report the findings to Congress.

Mr. Garner's proposal is regarded in Washington as a compromise for the kind of federal anti-lynching bill which has been advocated during the past five years.

The Garner proposal is said to appeal to liberal southern Democrats and realistic southern Democratic leaders who believe something must be done about lynching if the party is to hold the important Negro vote in northern and western states in line for 1940.

Of course, the die-hard reactionary Negro-hating southern leaders are against any proposal which would authorize any federal action whatsoever in lynchings. Their attitude is said to be that they would rather lose the 1940 election nationally than to make any concession on lynching.

Supporters of the anti-lynching bills which have been introduced in recent years are also understood to be opposed to the Garner proposal, holding that it will not prove effective since it only provides for investigation of lynchings and report of findings to Congress.

Housing Authority Draws Mortgage Color Line

The Federal Housing Authority, which guarantees mortgages at low rates of interest in order to stimulate home buying, has been discovered to be operating on a strictly jim crow residential basis in the handling of mortgages on Negro homes.

The Jamaica, L. I., ranch of the N.A.A.C.P., of which Dr. John A. Singleton is president, investigated numerous complaints from colored people who sought to secure F.H.A. mortgages on new homes in or near Jamaica.

Finally, the local administrators of the F.H.A. admitted that no mortgages were guaranteed for colored people in any neighorhood which was less than 50% Negro.

In a protest to Stewart McDonald, director of the F.H.A. in Washington, the N.A.A.C.P. charges that the F.H.A. is restricting Negro home buyers who wish to escape from slum areas and improve their housing and health conditions. The N.A.A.C.P. also charges that the F.H.A., by the enforcement of this rule, is creating segregation problems where none now exist. Instances were cited where local builders, local banks and local community sentiment were not opposed to Negro home builders, but the F.H.A. refused to guarantee the mortgage. In some cases local banks or finance companies financed the mortgage without the F.H.A., showing that local sentiment was not opposed to Negroes in the neighborhood.

The N.A.A.C.P. is seeking to have the rule under which this segregation is practiced withdrawn from the F.H.A. "Underwriters Manual."

24th Spingarn Medal to Marian Anderson

Marian Anderson, world famous contralto, has been named to receive the Spingarn Medal for 1938 awarded annually by J. E. Spingarn, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "for the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years."

The formal statement of the committee declared:

"Marian Anderson has been chosen for her special achievement in the field of music. Equally with that achievement, which has won her world-wide fame as one of the greatest singers of our time, is her magnificent dignity as a human being. Her unassuming manner, which has not been changed by her phenomenal success, has added to the esteem not only of Marian Anderson as an individual, but of the race to which she belongs."

Miss Anderson, who is the twenty-fourth recipient of the gold medal award since it was instituted in 1914 by Mr. Spingarn, will receive it formally on July 2 during the thirtieth annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. which will be held in Richmond, Va. Accepting the award in a telegram from Grand Forks, North Dakota, where she appeared in a concert, Miss Anderson said:

"I deeply appreciate the significance of the act of the Spingarn medal committee in selecting me as medalist. It is my plan to remain in America this summer and I would be honored to come to Richmond July 2 for the presentation."

IRA W. WILLIAMS
New president of the Chicago branch

Poletti and Roosevelt Elected to N.A.A.C.P. Board

New York's Lieutenant Governor-elect, Charles Poletti, and Col. Theodore Roosevelt, son of the famous Theodore Roosevelt, were elected to the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the Association's thirtieth annual business meeting held at 69 Fifth Avenue, January 3.

Other persons elected to the board included: Louis C. Blount, of Detroit, president of the Great Lakes Mutual Insurance Company; Alfred Baker Lewis, of Boston, State secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts; Eugene M. Martin, secretary-treasurer of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Atlanta, Ga.; and Dr. W. L. Ransome, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Richmond, Va.

Judge Ira Jayne, of Detroit, long a director of the Association, was elected a vice-president to fill the place left vacant by the late James Weldon Johnson.

Those re-elected to the board of directors included:

Governor Herbert H. Lehman, of New York; Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, and J. E. Spingarn, all of New York; Harry E. Davis, and Miss Pearl Mitchell, both of Cleveland; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Isadore Martin, Philadelphia; Dr. Joseph W. Nicholson, of Talladega, Ala.; T. G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va.; and Dr. E. W. Taggart, Birmingham, Ala.

Those elected to the Association's national legal committee included: A. T. Walden, Atlanta, Ga.; Charles W. Anderson, Louisville, Ky., member of the Kentucky State Legislature; and Charles A. Chandler, Muskogee, Okla.; Benjamin Kaplan, New York; Edward Lovett, Washington, D. C.; S. D. McGill, Jacksonville, Fla.

The following national officers of the organization were re-elected at the meeting:

President: J. E. Spingarn, Amenia, New York; Chairman of the Board; Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York; Treasurer: Miss Mary White Ovington, New York; Vice-Presidents: Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington; Godfrey Lowell Cabot, Boston; Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka, Kansas; Bishop John A. Gregg, Kansas City, Kansas; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York; Prof. Manley O. Hudson, The Hague; Rev. A. Clayton Powell, New York; Arthur B. Spingarn, New York; Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

N.A.A.C.P. Wins Court Fight on D. C. Incorporation

Three former officials of the District of Columbia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were permanently enjoined from using the Association's name in a local corporation by Justice Daniel O'Donoghue, of the District of Columbia court in a decision handed down January 10.

The decision in favor of the N.A.A.C.P. followed two years of litigation between the national organization and these former officials. Internal differences within the branch reached a climax on January 15, 1937, when more than 60 members of the branch contested an election of officers.

The matter was taken to the national office, where the Association's board of directors ruled that a new election must be held. Two branch officials, John C. Bruce, former president, and Archibald S. Pinkett, former secretary, refused to carry out this ruling. Together with John C. Rhines, who had just been elected treasurer of the branch, they incorporated March 12, 1937, using the Association's name.

The former branch officials were represented by James A. Cobb, and George E. C. Hayes. The national organization was represented by Charles H. Houston, Thurgood Marshall, and Leon A. Ransom.

Life Memberships

During the Christmas holiday conclaves of Greek letter sororities, five hundred dollar life memberships in the N.A.A.C.P. were voted by Phi Delta Kappa, national teachers' sorority meeting in Philadelphia, Pa.; and Omega Psi Phi fraternity meeting in Chicago. Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, which has been purchasing a life membership, voted at its meeting in Detroit to pay off the entire balance this year. Last fall the Delta Sigma Theta sorority voted to take a life membership in the Association and made the first payment on it. Other fraternities and sororities have voted endorsement of the Association's work and urged their local chapters to cooperate and to contribute financially. Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi and Kappa Beta Sigma fraternities have made cash contributions to the Association's general fund, especially to aid in the campaign against educational inequalities.

Spingarn Recovering

President J. E. Spingarn, president of the N.A.A.C.P., who became seriously ill early in January, is recovering speedily, members of the family have announced.

States May Add Graduate Schools

As a result of the U. S. supreme court decision in the University of Missouri case, the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Oklahoma began the consideration of moves designated to establish some graduate work at their Negro state colleges.

North Carolina seems to have the most complete plan and to be willing to appropriate sufficient money for a good beginning. Virginia comes next and very likely will take about the same action of North Carolina. Oklahoma has made a mere gesture. A hastily drawn vague bill changing the name of the state school to "the Colored University of Oklahoma" and directing the establishment of graduate work there has been introduced. No appropriation has been made and no effort toward definite concrete action taken. South Carolina likewise has made a mere gesture. Its legislature is considering the establishment "of a chair of law" at the state Negro college.

Get your branch ready for Richmond, Va.

30th annual conference

MRS. CORA PATTON
New Head of the Women's Auxiliary of the Chicago branch

Branch News

The regular monthly meeting of the **High Point, N. C.,** branch was held at the Women's Memorial A.M.E. church Thursday evening, January 17. This was the first meeting of the New Year.

The executive committee of the **Rochester, N. Y.,** branch presented Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, at the Y.W.C.A. Saturday, January 14.

The **Newark, N. J.,** branch held its first meeting of the year on January 10 at the Urban League Building, 58 W. Market street. Officers for 1939 were elected and reports read.

The **Vallejo, Calif.,** branch is giving away a crocheted bed spread. Everyone in Vallejo has an opportunity to participate in the event. The gift is to be presented on Lincoln's birthday, February 12.

The Rev. Calvin J. Sutherland, of New Haven, was the speaker at the meeting of the **Hartford, Conn.,** branch on January 4. Entertainment was furnished bv the Negro Theatre Guild of Hartford. On February 1 the branch is presenting Dean William Pickens, director of branches.

The **Media, Pa.,** branch held a very interesting meeting in the Campbell A.M.E. church on January 3. The meeting marked the termination of the membership drive.

Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison addressed the meeting of the **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch at the Simpson M. E. church on Sunday, January 8. The audience participated in a discussion of the United States supreme court decision directing the University of Missouri to admit Negro students to its law school until a Negro law school is established in the state.

Emancipation Day was observed by the **Midland, Pa.,** branch in the First Baptist church on Monday, January 2. The principal address was delivered at the evening service by the Rev. George Thomas, pastor of the Rochester Baptist church. Mr. John Thornton, president of the local branch, and Mrs. Lizzie L. Moss, program chairman, were in charge. The morning session began at 10:30 o'clock, the afternoon session at 2:00 and the evening session at 7:30. An excellent program was rendered throughout the entire day.

Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., was the guest speaker at the Emancipation celebration sponsored by the **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch on Monday, January 2. The Rev. J. Raymond Henderson, pastor of the Bethesda Baptist church, was chairman of the program committee.

The **Westfield, N. J.,** branch held a mass meeting at St. Luke's A.M.E. Zion church on Sunday, January 8. Dr. Howard F. Brock, president of the branch, presided.

Dr. John A. Singleton, president of the **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch, is leading the fight against the F.H.A. for the alleged refusal to guarantee mortgages for Negroes who want to buy or build homes in areas not strictly limited to colored people.

The **Rahway, N. J.,** branch held its first meeting of the year at the Dunbar Community Center on January 3. John Madden, president of the branch, presided.

On Sunday, January 8, at the Wabash avenue Y.M.C.A., the **Chicago, Ill.,** branch held its annual meeting and elected Mr. Ira W. Williams, who for the past three years has been treasurer of the branch, president for the year 1939. In addition to Mr. Williams, the following officers were elected: vice-president, Walter Abernathy; secretary, James Garfield Lemon, Jr.; assistant secretary, Miss Frances Taylor Moseley; and treasurer, Carl A. Hansberry. The executive committee for 1939 is as follows: Heber T. Dotson, Earl B. Dickerson, Loring B. Moore, Graham T. Perry, George A. Blakey, Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Irvin C. Mollison, A. C. MacNeal, Charles D. Murray, Ray Orme, Robert Lacey, Walter L. Lowe, Bryant Hammond, Louis G. Alexander, Mrs. Cora M. Patton, Jeannette Tripplett and Harry H. C. Gibson.

William Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P., was guest speaker at a meeting sponsored by the **Gastonia, N. C.,** branch in the auditorium of the Highland school on December 14.

At a mass meeting sponsored by the **Plainfield, N. J.,** branch, Mayor James J. MacMurray presented Fireman George D. Leland with a gift watch as a reward for saving the life of a Negro woman in a West End fire.

The monthly meeting of the **Pasadena, Calif.,** branch was held on December 15 at the St. Barnabas parish house. Reports on civic affairs were made and work for the new year outlined. The following officers were elected for 1939: Rev. Alfred Wilkins, president; Clifton Walker, vice-president; Mrs. Milton Groomes and Miss Gladys Harris, secretaries and John R. Wright, treasurer.

The **Youngstown, O.,** branch held a special meeting in the Y.M.C.A. on December 19.

The **Steubenville, O.,** branch held an open meeting at the Simpson M. E. church on December 19. A committee on investigation reported on its probe of discrimination on WPA projects. The workings of unemployment insurance were also explained. The branch decided to hold a membership drive sometime in February. The following officers were re-elected to serve the year 1939: Wilbert H. Williams, president; Rev. C. E. Terry, vice-president; William Griffin, treasurer; Mrs. Jean Britt, secretary; and Mrs. Elizabeth Scipio, assistant secretary.

The annual meeting of the **Richmond, Va.,** branch was held December 8. The work of the past year was reviewed. President Dr. J. M. Tinsley, in his annual address, stressed the continued need for the Negro in this country to fight for equal opportunity for inclusion in American life. The report of other branch officers included that of J. Thomas Hewin, Jr., Mrs. Erma A. Harris, secretary, and E. C. Burke, treasurer. Dr. W. L. Ransome, campaign chairman, reported the membership of the local branch to be 717 members. Officers for the coming year were elected as follows: president, Dr. J. M. Tinsley; vice-presidents, Dr. W. L. Ransome, J. S. Collins and Rev. C. E. Queen; secretary, Mrs. Erma A. Harris; assistant secretary, Mrs. Rosa W. Forrester; treasurer, E. C. Burke. Besides the foregoing officers, the following were elected to the executive committee: Rev. S. G. Stevens, Mrs. Mamie W. Allen, Rev. C. C. Scott, Roscoe C. Jackson, J. Thomas Hewin, Jr., C. A. Jones, Mrs. M. M. Ransome, Rev. W. B. Ball, Bernard T. Kenney, Wiley A. Hall, G. B. Winston, C. B. Case, Horace H. Scott, Rev. A. W. Brown, Dr. Leon A. Reid, Mrs. Rosa E. James, Mrs. Hestell V. Braxton, and Mrs. Elizabeth Coles Bouey.

The following were elected officers of the **Columbus, O.,** branch for the year 1939: president, Barbee William Durham; Miss Helen Napper, secretary and Rev. C. F. Jenkins, legal committee; Dr. R. M. Tribbitt, program committee; Jesse G. Dickinson, publicity; William F. Savoy, audit and budget; Mrs. Constance Nichols, finance; Isobel Chisholm, social committee, Mrs. C. F. Jenkins, education committee; Mrs. Thelma Jackson, outlook committee; and Gladyce Taylor, ladies auxiliary.

The **Albany, N. Y.,** branch has appointed a nominating committee for 1939. The committee will report at the next regular meeting of the branch in February. The branch sent two delegates to the N.Y.A. Congress meeting in Washington in January.

The **Aiken, S. C.,** branch was organized December 6, 1938. The following are the elected officers for the year 1939: T. C. Crawford, Jr., president; Z. Townsend, vice-president; W. M. McGhee, Jr., secretary; John Jenkins, treasurer; the executive members are: Charles Ramey, John Jenkins, George Dowdy, A. D. Smith, Robert Brooks, Justine Wilkinson, Mozela Hamilton, G. T. Cherry, T. C. Crawford, Jr., Z. Townsend and William M. McGhee, Jr.

The **Princeton, N. J.,** branch had excellent success with its activities during 1938. The branch was directly responsible for the erection of a modern school building for colored children. Its fight against police brutality was given statewide publicity. The president of the branch, Dr. David Anthony, was also elected president of the **New Jersey State Conference of Branches.** The branch intends to increase its activities during 1939.

A new branch was formed at **Farmsville, Va.,** on New Year's Day. The following will serve as officers for the year: president, W. A. Carter; vice-president, J. W. Madden; secretary, Dr. N. P. Miller; assistant secretary, Mrs. M. M. West; treasurer, A. Helms. The executive board is composed of the following: N. M. Griggs. Dr. L. M. Archambeau, Joseph Burton, Mrs. Dorothy Vaughan, Mrs. Cammie Foster, Mrs. P. F. Baker, W. J. Hendricks, Dr. A. G. Rawlins, and Mrs. Catherine Booker.

Interested citizens have formed a temporary branch of the N.A.A.C.P. in **Surry County, Va.,** and are working to secure the number of members required in order to become a chapter branch of the Association.

The **Virginia State Conference of Branches** met in Richmond on November 24, 1938 with Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president, presiding. Welcome to delegates was extended by H. E. Fauntleroy, president of the **Petersburg, Va.,** branch. Dr. Tinsley, in his address, urged all branches to continue working to get greater support from the public for the program of the N.A.A.C.P. and that there should be not let up to qualify all colored people for voters. He also emphasized the necessity of equalizing the facilities for school children and the salaries of the colored teachers. Attorney J. Thomas Hewin, Jr., commented on cases in which the state conference had participated. The conference adjourned at 11:00 a.m. for meetings of various committees. Attorney Thurgood Marshall, of the national legal staff, addressed the conference. He outlined the work before the Virginia branches for the entertainment of the national conference in June and for the continuation of the Virginia Teachers salary fight. The conference was very successful from every standpoint.

At a forum session on January 8, at the Leigh Street M. E. Church, the Richmond Negro Forum Council donated $15 to the N.A.A.C.P. Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., was the guest speaker. He outlined the program of the Association for the coming year, stressing the necessity for a federal anti-lynching bill and equal education facilities and teachers salaries in states where discrimination is now practiced.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Boston Hears Houston

The Boston youth council presented Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the Association at their annual educational mass meeting December 11. Ebenezer Baptist Church was filled to capacity with an appreciative audience which fairly scooped up the 100 copies of "Racial Inequalities in Education" which the council members sold after the meeting.

Mr. Houston touched on all points of the education fight being waged by the Association, giving special emphasis to the University of Missouri Case, in which the far-reaching decision was handed down by the supreme court the following day. Seaton W. Manning presided over the meeting, and welcome addresses were given by Theresa M. Alexander, chairman of the education committee, and Irwin T. Dorch, president of the senior branch. Music on the program included organ solos by John Custis, and vocal solos by Stanley Davis. Reynold M. Costa, president of the council, introduced the speaker. The unique program contained a long list of patrons in the front, and signatures of well wishers at the back, including members of the national office staff, Marion Anderson, Mary McLeod Bethune, John Haynes Holmes, Donald G. Lothrop. Telegrams of congratulation were received from the youth councils in Detroit and Chicago, and from Dr. Clarence Skinner, Dean of Tufts School of Theology, and speaker on last year's program.

The meeting was preceded by a reception for Mr. Houston at the home of Miss Ethel Stewart, where many youth council members gathered for tea and an informal introduction to the guest of honor.

Cleveland Holds Johnson Memorial

The Cleveland youth council held memorial services at Antioch Baptist church for the late James Weldon Johnson, assisted by members of the senior branch. The well planned program consisted of invocation by Rev. Grant H. Reynolds, three groups of spirituals by Marguerite Sanford, the Philharmonic Glee Club and Augustus G. Grist, Jr., respectively; readings of "O Black and Unknown Bards" by Cynthia Moultrie; "Brothers—American Drama", "The Glory of the Dawn Was in Her Face", and "Reward" read by Mildred Coleman, with interpretive piano accompaniment by Charles P. Lampkin; eulogy, "I Knew Him" by Hon. Harry E. Davis. The program closed with the singing of "Lift Ev-ry Voice and Sing" and the benediction by Rev. W. H. McKinney.

Morristown Elects Officers

The newly elected officers of the Morristown youth council are Evelyn Watson, president; Sam Hughey, vice-president; Veina Martin, secretary; Clifford Burton, treasurer.

The council held a very enjoyable New Year's dance at Eureka auditorium, with Dr. and Mrs. Ernest B. Wetmore, Mr. and Mrs. George Floyd, Mrs. Lavinia Scott, Mrs. Mary S. Burton and Miss Clara Watson of the senior branch as chaperones. Sam Hughey and his committee were responsible for the beautiful holiday decorations, and music was furnished by Toni Sciaccio.

New Bedford Organizes

On December 1, at the home of Miss Estelle Carter, the New Bedford youth council was formed under the direction of a temporary committee composed of

Miss Carter, Mrs. Fred M. Bonner, ton, W. W. Bonner, J. Wright and C. D. Onley. The newly elected officers are Miss Alymtha Felton, president; Miss Mary Gunthrop, secretary; Miss Carter, adviser. The group has already applied for its charter and is formulating plans for an active year.

Montclair to Observe Negro History Week

The Montclair youth council, under the supervision of N. J. Williams, is assisting the Montclair Negro History Project in its annual celebration of Negro History Week. This year, the observance takes the form of an exhibition in the banquet hall of the Washington Street Y. M. C. A. from February 12–18. A mass meeting on Sunday, February 12, featuring prominent speakers, will open the event.

New Youth Groups

Word has been received of new councils being formed in Warren, Ohio (Trumbull County Branch) under the direction of Maron Sibley, and in Corpus Christi, Texas, under the direction of Mrs. C. Rowe.

The latest chartered youth councils are Newark, New Jersey, San Francisco, California, and Cincinnati, Ohio (duplicate charter).

Special Notice

In making 1939 remittances to the national office, youth council and college chapter officers are asked not to use the word *branch,* but to designate clearly either *youth council* or *college chapter*. If this is not done, the amounts may be credited to the branch, necessitating later corrections and complicating the apportionments. Membership reports, regardless of how many or how few, should be made in duplicate, the original being forwarded to this office with the check or money order.

Cincinnati Hears Roy Wilkins

The Cincinnati youth council had the privilege of hearing Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. and editor of THE CRISIS on January 4, during his recent midwestern tour. Mr. Wilkins spoke on the work of the NAACP, with particular emphasis on the functioning of youth councils within the Association. His remarks were very timely in view of the fact that the Cincinnati group has just been reorganized and is planning a well-rounded program of activities for this year.

Apportionments

The following youth councils completed their $25 apportionment during the year 1938, by sending to the national office moneys from memberships, Christmas seals, buttons and annual conference assessment:

Boston, Mass., $261.06; Detroit, Mich., $215.25; Pittsburgh, Pa., $105;

St. Petersburgh, Fla., $82; Philadelphia, Pa., $68.35; Chicago, Ill., $54.17; Cleveland, Ohio, $48.42; Houston, Tex., $47.39; New York, N. Y., No. 1, $42; Newark, Ohio, $38.50; Montgomery, W. Va., $35.75; Morristown, N. J., $31.50; Plainfield, N. J., $28.50; Montclair, N. J., $29.25; Atlanta, Ga., $27; New York Jr., $25.

The following college chapters completed their apportionment: Cheyney Teachers College, Pa., $51.50; Talladega College, Ala., $31.75; West Virginia State College, $29.50; Fisk University, $29.50.

Book Reviews

JUAN LATINO, SLAVE AND HUMANIST by V. B. Spratlin. Spinner Press, Inc., New York. 216 pp. $2.00.

Professor Spratlin has performed a worthy and pious deed in writing the first life in English of Juan Latino. Juan Latino, now almost completely forgotten, has an important place in Negro history and literature. A full blooded Negro and a slave, he was probably the first of his race to receive a degree from a European university and the first to publish his writings in modern Europe. He became a teacher, probably a professor, in the University of Granada in Spain and was an erudite and accomplished humanist whose reputation survived for more than a century. He published a long Latin poem in praise of Don Juan of Austria in 1571 and shorter Latin poems in 1576 and 1585.

Very little is known of the facts of Juan Latino's life and Professor Spratlin in this work, which is both biographical and critical, has made the most of the meagre material at his disposal. His book incorporates the results of all available scholarship on the subject and in addition contains his adaptation in English blank verse of the complete Spanish play, "The Famous Drama of Juan Latino" by Diego Jeménez de Ensico, first published in Madrid in 1652. A.B.S.

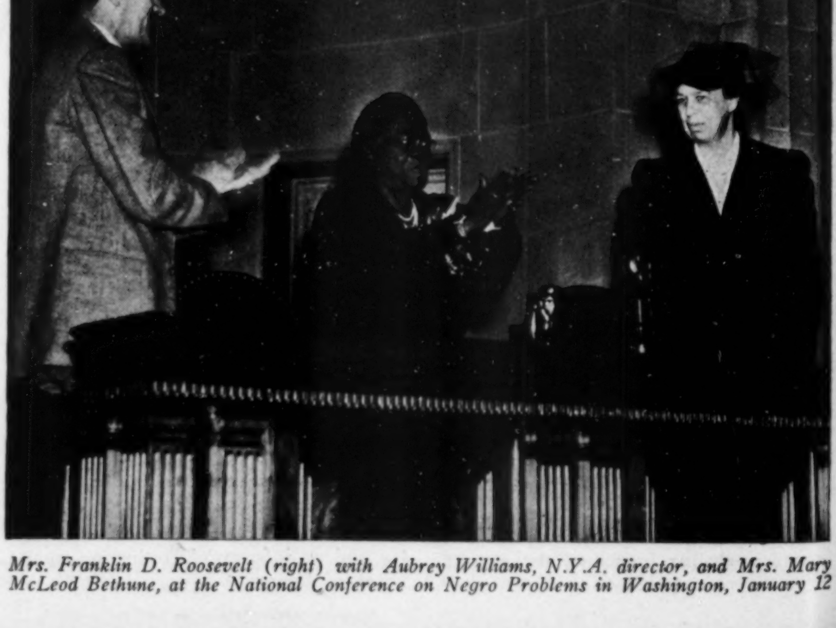
THE NEGRO'S GOD by Benjamin E. Mays. Chapman and Grimes, Boston. $2.00.

The Negro's God is, as the subtitle of the volume indicates, a study of the conception of God by the Negro as revealed in his literature. Within the limitation set by the author the picture is a representative one, although it could be wished that it were more inclusive. There are conceptions of God by Negroes which never touch the printed page and which would prove as significant to the reader as they are at present inaccessible to him.

Dean Mays hints that the study reveals that the God of "The Green Pastures"—an off the highway of literature God—is fiction to which one can answer that fiction it is and fiction it was meant to be. The author of "The Green Pastures" has simply dramatized the idea that people build their God out of their common experiences—a sound procedure.

The literature consulted by Dean Mays in his search for the Negro's conception of God is classified by the author as "mass" and "classical," a division of doubtful importance. "Mass" literature comprises spirituals, sermons, prayers, and Sunday School literature—the sermons and prayers in a number of instances having been reported stenographically for the author. "Classical" literature includes slave narratives, biography, autobiography, ad-

(*Continued on page* 61)



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt (right) with Aubrey Williams, N.Y.A. director, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, at the National Conference on Negro Problems in Washington, January 12

Our House

(Continued from page 47)

"Who's gonna fetch you to the shindy? Stan an' the others is comin' for me. Uh, huh". . . .

"Who told you, come into Mr. Burden's library without a dustcloth in your hand?" he began. "Who told you, call on his telephone? For all the world like this house belongs to you"—

"Edward," came Tilly's voice, "supper; come eat now."

He went back across the hall. The radio stopped and Dorcas scurried past him to the dining room. There his cousin Tilly stood by the table, a tall black woman in a cotton dress, her hair braided in three tight little braids close to her head. She held a pot of coffee in her hand.

"In here," she said.

The doilies, the wine and water glasses still marked the family places. They sat down and helped themselves from the warm dishes Tilly put back on the table.

Presently from the kitchen came a soft low whistle. When Dorcas answered, it came again. Then there was the sound of footsteps and murmured words. The pantry door was pushed open and one by one they edged slowly in, the colored boys and girls on their way to the shindy. Edward knew them all. Here came Stan, here came Amser's grandchildren who worked in white folks' houses too, here came Cephas' two youngest boys, mechanics in a garage, and a cousin driver for a truck gardener. Tonight they had scrubbed off their work and wore their finery. Their sleek brown faces were glistening with pleasure. "Evenin' Uncle, evenin' Tilly. 'Scuse us," they said respectfully, "we've come by for Dorcas." They stood around the table or backed themselves shuffling against the wall. The younger ones rolled their eyes.

But when Dorcas invited them to draw up they became easier and soon drew chairs to the table. "You got any for us, Tilly?" they asked, and sat down and ate. Seeing a little wine left in the decanter, "Let's taste that," they cried and poured it into a glass and passed it around. They talked and laughed; they made a warm gay circle around the table. Slowly, wonder filled Edward looking at them. It wasn't only the supper and so many eating. There had always been plenty on Lulie's stove and she could make it seem like more than it was and serve it round to everybody who came. No, it was . . . my folks, he thought, my folks sitting here around this table; and wondered if he had spoken out loud, or if it seemed as strange to them as to him.

Here was the same room he had stood in a few hours ago. He had been praised for it; his moldings, his windows, his mantel shelf—see those old red woodcoals blinking to sleep in the ashes—his house. "My plan of course," Mr. Burden had said. Edward and his brothers had built long and foursquare with large square rooms, and their kin had taken care of the house ever since: kept it warm, kept it clean, fed it, dressed it—and the white folks inside it. White folks. . . . He hadn't built it for himself, none of his kin had worked in it for themselves, yet now they were sitting here like it belonged to them.

Edward's working day had been long, he was tired. He pushed aside his plate of uneaten supper, went to the kitchen and, putting his hand into the back of the oven, brought out some sweet potatoes which he put on a plate. Taking his bowl from the kitchen dresser he went back to the dining room. Here he sat down again, filled his bowl with milk and coffee, and ate his sweet potatoes, breaking them with his hands. He pushed his chair a little sideways from the table toward the fire. The young people were making ready to leave. Dimly he heard them telling their thanks to Tilly and Goodnight, Uncle; but he made no reply, though what he was studying about as he looked at the coals and ate slowly in silence, he could not have told.

He was engrossed in watching a crowd of colored folks who appeared to be coming and going around a house. They walked in groups, in friendly twos and threes. The men wore overalls the women aprons and they carried things in their hands: a broom or a saw, a hoe, a mop or a hammer or shovel. Some carried heavy boards and stones, some guided animals. Edward grew dreamy watching the vision of them. Who were they and what house was it? He couldn't rightly make it out. Looks like it's this house, looks like it's their house. . . .

The telephone rang and Tilly being busy with the dishes Edward answered the call.

"No sir, Mr. Burden he's not here.

"This his house, you ask?"

The question seemed part of his dream by the fire and out of his dream he answered.

"Somehow I don't rightly know, his house or mine. Looks like it must be our house. . . ."

NEGRO ALDERMAN IS URGED FOR LOUISVILLE

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* (daily) in announcing its program for 1939 in its issue of December 31, stated that one of the objectives of the city should be the election of a Negro alderman in the city council.

ABLE COLORED LAWYERS
— EVERYWHERE —
SEE LEGAL DIRECTORY
PAGES 60-61

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READ AND ACT

The National Negro Insurance Association reported for 1936:

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—Income of $15,061,347.72
—Insurance in force: $288,963,070.00
—Policies in force: 1,643,125
—Ordinary Insurance: $80,106,234
—Industrial Insurance: $181,961,766.63.
—Health and Accident Insurance: $26,895,069.37
—Employment: 8,150 Negroes
—Policies issued and Revived in 1936: $174,112,773.00
—Increased business, 1936: $65,645,466
—Increase in policies, 1936: 251,047

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Book Reviews

(*Continued from page* 58)

dresses, novels, poetry, and writings of the social sciences. The study covers a span beginning with 1760 and brought down to the present. This period is broken into three epochs: 1760 through the Civil War, the Civil War to 1914, and the beginning of the World War to the present. Dean Mays discovers in this literature three principal conceptions of God: the compensatory or pragmatic—the God idea is true if it consoles, uplifts, sustains other worldly views; the conception which supports a growing consciousness of necessary social and psychological adjustment; and the tendency to abandon the idea of God as useful in perfecting social change.

For many Negro readers the book will in the main crystallize prior impressions, although they will appreciate having at hand chapter and verse. Readers less thoroughly acquainted with the literature and the thinking of Negroes may be somewhat surprised to see how widely, intelligently, and eloquently the God idea is marshalled to support a growing social consciousness and especially to know that there are Negro agnostics and atheists who do not hesitate to avow their positions.

The book demonstrates once more that we build God in our own image, the image of our ideals when not of our flesh. It reveals further the need for profound thinking about the nature of God by Negro religious leaders. The tendency is strong for Negroes, as they grow in intellectual power, to cease to feel the need for God, that is, the God they have known. Meanwhile, as the volume points out, the more modern interpretations of God have with few exceptions permeated Negro thinking, even that of religious leaders. There is no wonder then that the Negro intellectual tends to go over the brink once his thinking has reached the edge of orthodoxy.

There is deep satisfaction that in Dean Mays we have a Negro student of religion writing painstakingly and intelligently upon problems in his field.

Wm. Stuart Nelson

**Send THE CRISIS
to a Friend**

MISS REGINA WILSON

Winner of first prize in the recent membership campaign of the Richmond, Va., branch

Frederick Douglass

(*Continued from page* 50)

those on whom the burden and hardships of labor fall . . . As the laborer becomes more intelligent he will develop what capital he already possesses—that is, the power to organize and combine for its own protection. Experience demonstrates that there may be a slavery of wages only a little less galling and crushing in its effects than chattel slavery, and that this slavery of wages must go down with the other." Answering a charge that the Convention "would disturb the peace of the Republican party," Douglass affirmed: "If the Republican party cannot stand a demand for justice and fair play, it ought to go down. We were men before that party was born, and our manhood is more sacred than any party can be. Parties were made for men, not men for parties."

Replying to the question: Why colored conventions? Douglass declared: "Because the voice of a whole people, oppressed by a common injustice, is far more likely to command attention and exert an influence on the public mind than the voice of single individuals and isolated organizations . . . If there were no other grievance than this horrible and barbarous lynch law custom, we should be justified in assembling as we have now done, to expose and denounce it."

Yet Douglass also counselled in his address on the Twenty-First Anniversary of Emancipation: "There is but one destiny, it seems to me, left for us, and that is to make ourselves and be made by others a part of the American people in every sense of the word . . . We cannot afford to set up for ourselves a separate political party, or adopt for ourselves a political creed apart from the rest of our fellow citizens."

Douglass held several public offices, including that of Marshal of the District of Columbia and Minister to Haiti. Yet he always used his high position to advance the cause of his oppressed people and of liberty for all mankind. He was signally honored by the Republic of Haiti when named as its Commissioner for the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. There he delivered an able speech and lecture on the Negro nation which struck the first shattering blow against chattel slavery.

The mistakes of Douglass were so few and so quickly corrected that he must be adjudged a most sagacious leader. Till the end of his life in 1895, he continued to deserve the title of Liberator of His People and Great Champion of Human Liberty. Hence the tribute made by Henry Wilson: "In him not only did the colored race, but manhood itself find a worthy representative and advocate . . . His life is in itself an epic which finds few to equal it in the realms of romance or reality."

May we not derive great inspiration from his heroic example and clear light from his sage teachings, in order to go forward to meet the stern challenge of the present crisis, when fascism menaces everything that we hold dear? Can there be any doubt as to where Douglass would stand in this great battle, how he would lead and how he would fight?

Well may we say of him, as he said of the great pioneer Abolitionist, Garrison: "Let us teach our children the story of his life; let us try to imitate his virtues, and endeavor as he did to leave the world freer, nobler, and better than we found it."

Gaines Case

(*Continued from page* 53)

them. In short, the South is full of half-starved, make-believe state institutions. (There are exceptions.) . . .

Unless the Missouri decision shall force the adoption of a common sense course by the states for their institutions, the church and privately endowed universities and colleges of the South will in a general sense reduce them to a lowly estate in public opinion. . . .

Books of 1938

(Continued from page 46)

Wright, Richard. Uncle Tom's Children. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1938. 317 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed in THE CRISIS for May at page 155.

II

Among the other pamphlets issued during the year the following may be noted:

Bragg, George F. Virginians and Church Work Among the Colored Race. Baltimore.

Calliver, Ambrose. Education of Negroes. A 5 year Bibliography, 1931–1935. Washington.

Cobb, W. Montague. Negro Survival.

Cobb, W. Montague. New Frontiers in Anthropology.

Cobb, W. Montague. Your Nose Won't Tell.

Cooper, William Arthur. Educating Through Fine Art. Charlotte.

Davis, Harry E. "The Cathedral." Philadelphia.

Greene, Harry W. An Adventure in Experimental Co-operative Teaching. Institute, W. Va.

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VICTORY LIFE OFFICERS ARE GIVEN AWARDS

Harlemites packed the Renaissance Casino January 2 when the Agents' Association of Victory Mutual Life Insurance company gave its annual ball.

The event of the night's entertainment came when Judge James S. Watson and Assistant District Attorney Francis E. Rivers presented on behalf of a citizen's committee, tokens of appreciation to Dr. P. M. H. Savory, chairman of the board of directors; and Dr. C. B. Powell, chairman of the finance committee of the company.

Harris, Evangeline E. The Family. Parts I and III. Terra Haute.

Huffman, Eugene Henry. Hee! Haw! Haw! A Compilation of Original Humor. Los Angeles.

Is Japan the Champion of the Colored Races? New York.

Official Proceedings, October 15, 16, 17, 1937. Second National Negro Congress at Philadelphia. Washington.

Racial Inequalities in Education. New York.

Thornton, George B. Best Poems of George B. Thornton. Orangeburg.

Winston, Henry W. Life Begins with Freedom. New York.

Yergan, Max. Gold and Poverty in South Africa. New York.

Young, N. B. Your St. Louis and Mine. St. Louis.

MAY LOCATE AVIATION SCHOOL AT TUSKEGEE

Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has received an assurance from Robert H. Hinckley, of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, that if the President's plan of training 20,000 aviators is taken up, Tuskegee institute will be considered as one of the training schools to be designated.

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